

4869. By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of Otho W. Jones, Earl Clifford, James E. Green, Thomas Tinsley, Edward L. Wagner, Thomas G. Spencer, Thomas W. Wilson, Richard A. Fantom, Mrs. Carrie M. Gray, John H. Eckert, and others, of Baltimore, indorsing House bill 10644; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4870. Also, petition of United States Naval Academy Graduates' Association of Baltimore, Md., urging support of Congress on present plans for strengthening the Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

4871. Also, resolution of Baltimore City Medical Society, indorsing favorable action on legislation for retirement of emergency Army officers permanently disabled in line of duty during the World War; to the Committee on Rules.

4872. Also, petition of Messrs. H. Gamse & Bros., of Baltimore, registering opposition to the Jadwin plan providing that the State of Louisiana bear 20 per cent of the cost toward flood control; to the Committee on Flood Control.

4873. By Mr. MURPHY: Petition of Albert Capper, secretary of Local Union No. 10, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, telling of the resolution passed by that body favoring the passage of House bill 7729, Capper-Hawes bill; to the Committee on Labor.

4874. By Mr. O'CONNELL: Petition of McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., New York City, N. Y., appealing to Congress to enact legislation before March 15, 1928, prolonging the life of the Radio Commission, unhampered by unnecessary restrictions; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

4875. Also, petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, favoring in principle legislation in the Congress to facilitate the prosecution of criminal receivers of stolen property, commonly called the "fence"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4876. Also, petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, condemning the enactment into law of the Shipstead-LaGuardia bills (S. 1482, H. R. 7759), or similar legislation which will impair the power of the Federal courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes or in other controversies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4877. By Mr. ROBINSON of Iowa: Petition against the further postponement of the national origins provision of the restrictive immigration act of 1924, signed by May Justman and about 50 members of the Ruth and Naomi Circle, of Dubuque, Iowa; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

4878. By Mr. SELVIG: Petition of R. B. Taralseth and 24 farmers and residents of Marshall County, Minn., protesting against the passage of House bill 6465, the purpose of which is to place Mexico and Canada on a quota basis; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

4879. Also, petition of G. E. Comstock and 37 farmers and residents of Clay County, Minn., protesting against the passage of House bill 6465, the purpose of which is to place Mexico and Canada on a quota basis; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

4880. Also, petition of T. H. Acker and 10 farmers and residents of Euclid, Polk County, Minn., protesting against the passage of House bill 6465, the purpose of which is to place Mexico and Canada on a quota basis; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

4881. By Mr. SINCLAIR: Petition of 10 residents of Corinth, N. Dak., protesting against the enactment of compulsory Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4882. Also, petition of 12 residents of Lark, N. Dak., protesting against the enactment of compulsory Sunday observance legislation; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4883. Also, petition of William Larson, of Dunn Center, N. Dak., protesting against the enactment of compulsory Sunday observance bill (H. R. 78), or any similar measure; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4884. Also, petition of 63 residents of Wilton, N. Dak., for improvement in radio conditions; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

4885. Also, petition of 77 residents of Alexander, Arengard, Rawson, and Watford City, N. Dak., protesting against the enactment of compulsory Sunday observance legislation, and especially against the Lankford bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4886. Also, petition of 48 residents of Kenmare and Donnybrook, N. Dak., protesting against the enactment of compulsory Sunday observance legislation, and especially against House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4887. Also, petition of the board of directors of the North Dakota Wheat Growers' Association, representing 23,000 farmers in North Dakota and Montana, urging improvement of radio

conditions, particularly for independent stations engaged in broadcasting agricultural programs; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

4888. Also, petition of 31 residents of Hazen, Beulah, McGregor, Columbus, Noonan, Larson, and Wildrose, N. Dak., protesting against the enactment of compulsory Sunday observance legislation, and especially against House bill 78; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4889. By Mr. STRONG of Kansas: Petition of 23 citizens of Republic County, Kans., protesting against the passage of the compulsory Sunday observance bill (H. R. 78); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4890. By Mr. SWING: Petition of citizens of Elsinore, Calif., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4891. Also, petition of citizens of Arlington, Calif., and other communities, protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4892. Also, petition of citizens of Arlington, Calif., protesting against compulsory Sunday observance laws; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

4893. By Mr. WELCH of California: Petition submitted by United States Employees' Association of California, containing 51 signatures, residents of Stockton, Calif., favoring the passage of House bill 6518, to reclassify and increase the salaries of Federal employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

4894. By Mr. WURZBACH: Petition of E. Reinars, V. L. Hattenback, J. J. Wensley, Pete Rippstein, and other citizens of San Antonio, Bexar County, Tex., protesting against the Lankford Sunday observance bill; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

SENATE

MONDAY, March 5, 1928

The Chaplain, Rev. ZeBarney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God of love, we yield Thee thanks for whatsoever Thou hast given us richly to enjoy, for health and vigor, for the love and care of home, for the joys of friendship, and for every good gift of happiness and strength. And since it is of Thy mercy that this another day is added to our lives, we rededicate unto Thee our spirits, souls, and bodies, humbly beseeching Thee to give us strength for the day's toil, courage in difficulty, guidance in perplexity. Save us from distrust and suspicion, from prejudice and want of sympathy with any of Thy children, from all unholy strife, and from whatsoever in us hinders Thy work on earth, that in fullness of joy we and all the people of this land may walk before Thee with a perfect heart. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Friday last, when, on request of Mr. CURRIS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hattigan, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 11577) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 84. An act to approve Act 25 of the Session Laws of 1927 of the Territory of Hawaii, entitled "An act to authorize and provide for the manufacture, maintenance, distribution, and supply of electric current for light and power within Waimea and Kekaha, in the district of Waimea, on the island and in the county of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii";

H. R. 204. An act to authorize an additional appropriation for Fort McHenry, Md.;

H. R. 230. An act to authorize an appropriation for the recovery of bodies of officers, soldiers, and civilian employees;

H. R. 233. An act to provide for the purchase of land in connection with the Fort Monmouth Military Reservation, N. J.;

H. R. 234. An act to amend section 47d of the national defense act, as amended, so as to authorize an allowance of 1 cent a mile for subsistence of candidates in going to and returning from camp;

H. R. 235. An act to authorize the payment of travel expenses from appropriations for investigations and surveys of battle fields;

H. R. 238. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the payment of six months' pay to the widow, children, or other designated dependent relative of any officer or enlisted man of the Regular Army whose death results from wounds or disease not the result of his own misconduct," approved December 17, 1919, so as to include nurses of the Regular Army;

H. R. 449. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge across the Atchafalaya River at or near Morgan City, La.;

H. R. 519. An act for the relief of Joseph F. Ritcherdsen;

H. R. 2524. An act for the relief of Mary M. Jones;

H. R. 4536. An act for the relief of Fred R. Nugent;

H. R. 5635. An act to amend the act approved June 7, 1924, authorizing the Secretary of War to sell a portion of the Carlisle Barracks Reservation;

H. R. 5686. An act granting a right of way to the county of Imperial, State of California, over certain public lands for highway purposes;

H. R. 5727. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Ouachita River at or near Harrisonburg, La.;

H. R. 5783. An act to grant extensions of time of oil and gas permits;

H. R. 5803. An act authorizing the Interstate Bridge Co., of Lansing, Iowa, its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Lansing, Iowa;

H. R. 6194. An act for the relief of Frank Stinchcomb;

H. R. 6476. An act authorizing the Wabasha Bridge Committee, Wabasha, Minn., to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Wabasha, Minn.;

H. R. 6973. An act authorizing E. H. Wegener, his heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Chester, Ill.;

H. R. 6989. An act to amend the Hawaiian Homes Commission act, 1920, approved July 9, 1921, as amended by act of February 3, 1923;

H. R. 7030. An act to amend section 5 of the act of March 2, 1895;

H. R. 7195. An act to provide for the purchase of horses and mules for the Military Establishment;

H. R. 7199. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Oregon-Washington Bridge Co. to maintain a bridge already constructed across Columbia River near the city of Hood River, Oreg.;

H. R. 7213. An act to grant authority to the Postmaster General to enter into contracts for the transportation of mails by air to foreign countries and insular possessions of the United States for periods of not more than 10 years, and to pay for such service at fixed rates per pound or per mile, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7371. An act to legalize a bridge across the Snake River near Heyburn, Idaho;

H. R. 7375. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Alabama to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Tennessee River at or near Guntersville on the Guntersville-Huntsville road in Marshall County, Ala.;

H. R. 7909. An act to authorize the maintenance and renewal of a timber-frame trestle in place of a fixed span at the Wisconsin end of the steel bridge of the Duluth & Superior Bridge Co. over the St. Louis River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota;

H. R. 7914. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Alabama to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Tennessee River at or near Whitesburg Ferry, on the Huntsville-Lacey's Spring road between Madison and Morgan Counties, Ala.;

H. R. 7915. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Alabama to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Tennessee River at or near Scottsboro, on the Scottsboro-Fort Payne road in Jackson County, Ala.;

H. R. 7925. An act granting the consent of Congress for the maintenance and operation of a bridge across the Monongahela River between the borough of Glassport and the city of Clairton, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania;

H. R. 8530. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Alabama to construct,

maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Coosa River near Cedar Bluff, in Cherokee County, Ala.;

H. R. 8531. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Alabama to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Coosa River on the Columbiana-Talladega road, between Talladega and Shelby Counties, Ala.;

H. R. 8726. An act authorizing Oscar Baertch, Christ Buhmann, and Fred Reiter, their heirs, legal representatives, and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Alma, Wis.;

H. R. 8740. An act granting the consent of Congress to the county of Cook, State of Illinois, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Little Calumet River, in Cook County, State of Illinois;

H. R. 8743. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.;

H. R. 8818. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Louisiana Highway Commission to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Red River at or near Moncla, La.;

H. R. 8837. An act authorizing the American Bridge & Ferry Co. (Inc.), its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Cassville, Wis.;

H. R. 8896. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of Alabama to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Conecuh River on the Brewton-Andalusia road, in Escambia County, Ala.;

H. R. 9036. An act to increase the salary of the Librarian of Congress;

H. R. 9064. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Alabama to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Coosa River at or near Pell City, on the Pell City-Anniston road, between Calhoun and St. Clair Counties, Ala.;

H. R. 9139. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Tennessee to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Cumberland River on the Lafayette-Celina road in Clay County, Tenn.;

H. R. 9196. An act granting the consent of Congress to the Highway Department of the State of Tennessee to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Tennessee River on the Decatur-Kingston road in Roane County, Tenn.;

H. R. 9842. An act to provide for the survey, appraisal, and sale of the undisposed lots in the town site of St. Marks, Fla.;

H. R. 9849. An act to extend the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near Quincy, Ill.;

H. R. 10715. An act to authorize Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, United States Army Air Corps Reserve, to accept decorations and gifts from foreign governments.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Edwards	McKellar	Shortridge
Barkley	Ferris	McMaster	Simmons
Bayard	Fess	McNary	Smith
Black	Fletcher	Mayfield	Smoot
Blaine	Frazier	Metcalf	Stack
Blease	George	Neely	Steiwer
Borah	Glass	Norbeck	Stephens
Bratton	Gould	Norris	Swanson
Brookhart	Greene	Nye	Thomas
Broussard	Hale	Oddie	Tydings
Bruce	Harris	Overman	Tyson
Capper	Harrison	Phillis	Wagner
Caraway	Hawes	Pine	Walsh, Mass.
Copeland	Hayden	Pittman	Walsh, Mont.
Couzens	Hellin	Ransdell	Warren
Curtis	Johnson	Reed, Pa.	Waterman
Cutting	Jones	Robinson, Ark.	Watson
Dale	Kendrick	Robinson, Ind.	Willis
Deneen	Keyes	Sackett	
Dill	King	Sheppard	
Edge	La Follette	Shipstead	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 11577) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PROPOSED INVESTIGATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I desire to read for the RECORD and for the benefit of the Senate certain excerpts from a letter of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and to make the reference intelligible I desire to inform the Senate that the matter to which the excerpts relate is the resolution introduced by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] providing for an investigation by the Senate of the power utilities of the country. On February 15 last the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON], chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, asked and obtained unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD a telegram. I will read the telegram:

MIAMI, FLA., January 29, 1928.

Hon. JAMES E. WATSON,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor favors an investigation of power companies, but it believes such investigation should be made by competent experts free from partisan political significance.

WILLIAM GREEN,

President American Federation of Labor.

In a letter dated February 29 to myself Mr. Green, as president of the American Federation of Labor, said:

There is nothing in the telegram sent Chairman WATSON—

The telegram which I have just read—

that would justify the conclusion that the executive council of the American Federation of Labor believed that the Federal Trade Commission or any other special governmental body should be chosen to make the investigation provided for. No reference was made to the Federal Trade Commission by the executive council in its consideration of this matter. I am sure it was the opinion of the members of the council, when it considered the subject of an investigation of power interests, that said investigation would be made under the direction of a Senate committee by competent experts qualified to delve into the ramifications of the power interests and to make public the facts for public use and public consideration. It is difficult to understand how any other construction could be placed upon the attitude of the executive council. No construction other than the one I have herein set forth is justifiable. * * * No Member of the United States Senate had any authority to misinterpret the telegram sent by direction of the executive council, to put any other construction upon it than I have herein explained, or to question the sincerity or motives of the members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, while the Walsh resolution was being considered by the committee I received hundreds of letters and telegrams from all parts of the country in regard to the resolution, some one way and some another. Some of them I had inserted in the RECORD and others I did not. The telegram from Mr. Green came to me as I sat here, addressed to me as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee. I had it inserted in the RECORD. I placed no interpretation whatever upon it, and I did not ask anybody else to construe it one way or the other. It speaks for itself, and whatever it says, of course, is subject to Mr. Green's interpretation, but I put no interpretation upon its language.

SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATE OF APPROPRIATION—EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL DAIRY CONGRESS (S. DOC. NO. 65)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation, amounting to \$10,000, for the fiscal year 1929, to be immediately available, to cover the expenses of the United States in participating in the Eighth International Dairy Congress, to be held in Great Britain during June and July, 1928, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution of the Senate of Porto Rico, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENADO DE PUERTO RICO,
San Juan, P. R.

I, José Muñoz Rivera, secretary of the Senate of Porto Rico, do hereby certify that the following resolution was approved by the Senate of Porto Rico on February 14, 1928:

Resolution to reaffirm Concurrent Resolution 6, entitled "Concurrent resolution to request the Congress of the United States to amend, reenact, and add certain sections to the organic act of Porto Rico," approved August 18, 1925, and for other purposes

The Senate of Porto Rico, affirming once more its sentiments and aspirations in favor of full and complete self-government for Porto Rico,

Resolves:

1. That Concurrent Resolution 6, entitled "Concurrent resolution to request the Congress of the United States to amend, reenact, and add certain sections to the organic act of Porto Rico," approved August 18, 1925, and it hereby is reproduced and confirmed anew; and consequently that the senate lend its most decided support to the approval of the several bills introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States by the Resident Commissioner of Porto Rico in Washington asking for reforms in the organic act so that Porto Rico may choose its own governor by popular election and obtain complete self-government.
2. That the Senate of Porto Rico make its own and ratify the cable which was sent by the president of the Senate and by the speaker of the House of Representatives of Porto Rico to the President of the United States relative to the speech made by him before the Pan American Congress now in session in Habana, Cuba.
3. That a protest be made by cable against the bills introduced by Senator BINGHAM which seek to restrict the powers of the Legislature of Porto Rico in the matter of budgets and appropriations and to except certain privileged taxpayers from the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the interpretation of the Butler bill amending the organic act of Porto Rico, which are matters of local interest and should remain within the exclusive jurisdiction of the legislature.
4. And, further, that a copy of this resolution, after being translated into English, be sent to the President of the United States, to the Resident Commissioner for Porto Rico in Washington, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, to the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House, and to the chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the seal of the Senate of Porto Rico, at the city of San Juan, on this the 20th day of February, A. D. 1928.

[SEAL]

JOSÉ MUÑOZ RIVERA,
Secretary Senate of Porto Rico.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate cablegrams, which were referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAN JUAN, P. R., March 5, 1928.

Hon. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS, SENATE,

Washington, D. C.:

Liga Social Sufragista, Porto Rico, begs approval amendment section 35, Porto Rico organic act, introduced by Senator BINGHAM.

RICARDA RAMOS, President.

SAN JUAN, P. R., March 5, 1928.

PRESIDENT, MEMBERS, SENATE,

Washington, D. C.:

We beg you amend organic act Porto Rico granting woman suffrage Porto Rico, beginning 1928.

MILAGROS B. MEWTON,

President Pan American Association Women, Porto Rico.

Mr. SIMMONS presented a memorial of sundry citizens of North Carolina, remonstrating against alleged religious intolerance on the part of the Rumanian Government, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. COPELAND presented a petition of sundry citizens of Ulster County, N. Y., praying for the passage of legislation granting increased pensions to Civil War veterans and their widows, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Property Owners' Protective Association, of Kenmore, N. Y., favoring retention of the 1890 census as the basis of immigration quotas, without the national-origins provision contained in existing law or other restriction of a discriminatory nature, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. WARREN presented a resolution of the Lions Club of Kemmerer, Wyo., favoring the making of more adequate appropriations for forest-reserve work, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the president of the Wyoming Society, Sons of the American Revolution, favoring restrictive immigration laws and the ex-

tension of quota restrictions to Mexican citizens, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented a resolution of the Lions Club of Kemmerer, Wyo., favoring provision for a forest experiment station for the intermountain region, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of Cheyenne and the Lions Club of Kemmerer, in the State of Wyoming, favoring the making of increased appropriations for construction of designated highways on Federal reservations, which were referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. WILLIS presented petitions of sundry citizens of Bethel and Eaton, in the State of Ohio, praying for the passage of legislation granting increased pensions to Civil War veterans and their widows, which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition of sundry citizens of Weir City, Kans., praying for the passage of legislation granting increased pensions to Civil War veterans and their widows, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WATERMAN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Denver, Colo., praying for the prompt passage of legislation granting increased pensions to Civil War veterans and their widows, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. FESS presented petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Ohio, praying for the passage of legislation granting increased pensions to Civil War veterans and their widows, which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BRUCE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Baltimore, Md., praying for the passage of legislation granting increased pensions to Civil War veterans and their widows, which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

DRAINAGE CENSUS

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I present a communication from the secretary of the board of commissioners of Everglades drainage district, Tallahassee, Fla., together with a resolution adopted at a meeting of the board held February 28, 1928, relative to a drainage census, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the appropriate committee.

There being no objection, the communication and accompanying resolution were referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF FLORIDA,
BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF EVERGLADES DRAINAGE DISTRICT,
Tallahassee, Fla., March 1, 1928.

Hon. DUNCAN U. FLETCHER,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: At a meeting of the board of commissioners of Everglades drainage district, held February 28, 1928, a resolution was adopted relative to drainage census, and I was directed to forward inclosed copy to you for your consideration.

Yours very truly,

J. STUART LEWIS, Secretary.

Memorandum of resolution in re United States drainage census

Whereas there has been contained in former laws of Congress relating to making of decennial censuses a provision as follows:

"Sec. 8. Inquiries shall be made as to the quantity of land reclaimed by irrigation and drainage and the crops produced; also as to the location and character of irrigation and drainage enterprises, and the capital invested in such enterprises"; and

Whereas H. R. 393, making provision for the fifteenth and subsequent decennial censuses for the United States, does not contain the clause carried in former acts making appropriation for and instructing the taking of a drainage census in connection with the general census; and

Whereas board of commissioners of Everglades drainage district are of the opinion that by reason of the present and ever-increasing importance of drainage in Florida, the great amount of money involved in present enterprises, the many millions of acres now under drainage protection and increasing in area year by year, the protection of such lands from the effects of water for sanitary and agricultural purposes as conducive to the public health, convenience, and welfare, and for public utility and benefit, all with the purpose of making the said lands better suited for settlement, cultivation, and improvement, justifies the inclusion of drainage and reclamation in the provision for a census of the United States: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives from Florida in the Congress of the United States be, and they are hereby, urged to secure a clause in the bill (H. R. 393) making provision for a census to include drainage and irrigation similar to that contained in the act providing for the Fourteenth Census of the United States.

HOMICIDES BY FEDERAL OFFICERS

Mr. TYSON. Mr. President, I am in receipt of a letter from the Nashville Bar and Library Association in which it is stated that at a recent meeting of the board of directors of that association there was a discussion "as to the fact that there seems to be an increasing number of murders by Federal officers and possemen without any substantial number of convictions, and the directors felt that they should formally adopt a resolution protesting against the defense of all such officers by the Federal Government irrespective of their apparent guilt or innocence, in the hope that some steps might be taken by the Secretary of the Treasury or Congress to rectify the present existing situation."

The letter is accompanied by a resolution adopted by the association referred to. I ask that the letter and the accompanying resolution may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NASHVILLE BAR AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION,
Nashville, Tenn., February 11, 1928.

Hon. L. D. TYSON,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a recent meeting of the board of directors of the Nashville Bar and Library Association, composed of Messrs. Alfred T. Adams, Elmer D. Davies, W. M. Fuqua, John Bell Keeble, Louis Leftwich, W. E. Norvell, Jr., and W. J. Wade, there was a heated discussion as to the fact that there seems to be an increasing number of murders by Federal officers and possemen without any substantial number of convictions, and the directors felt that they should formally adopt a resolution protesting against the defense of all such officers by the Federal Government, irrespective of their apparent guilt or innocence, in the hope that some steps might be taken by the Secretary of the Treasury or Congress to rectify the present existing situation.

I might further add that it appeared to be the general consensus of opinion of the board of directors that the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in trying cases against Federal officers or cases against others involving crimes against Federal officers should be limited rather than extended, as is now being sought by Attorney General Sargeant in his request to Congress to pass a bill making it a Federal offense to kill a Federal officer in order that justice may be better attained, as it apparently can be in the State courts.

In accordance with the directions contained in said resolution, I am herewith inclosing a certified copy of same.

Yours very truly,

NASHVILLE BAR AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION,
ELMER D. DAVIES, Secretary.

Be it resolved by the directors of the Nashville Bar and Library Association, That they condemn and deprecate unlawful homicide either by private citizens or officers and they greatly deprecate the fact that while a substantial number of State officers have been convicted in State courts for unlawful homicide, practically all Government officers and possemen who have been accused of murder and indicted in the State courts, whether their victims were justifiably killed or not, have had their cases removed to the Federal courts throughout the country and it seemingly has been difficult to secure convictions; be it further

Resolved, That they consider it an unhealthy condition that district attorneys of the United States should lend their assistance in defending all of such cases, irrespective of merit, so removed to the Federal court, in that juries naturally feel that the prosecuting officer of the Government would not be defending unless an investigation had disclosed an apparent lack of guilt on the part of the officer; they realize that under section 771 of the Revised Statutes and other statutes it has been held to be the duty of district attorneys to defend such officers unless otherwise instructed by the Secretary of the Treasury; that, in their opinion, the Secretary of the Treasury should have each and every case carefully investigated and should instruct the district attorneys not to defend any such case where it is readily apparent that the killing was unjustified and that the officer was either guilty of murder in intentionally shooting one simply endeavoring to escape from arrest for the commission of a misdemeanor or was guilty of manslaughter in using firearms in a reckless manner calculated to take human life. Or, if the Secretary of the Treasury will not so act, then that the Congress of the United States should repeal the said removal statute, Thirty-sixth Statute at Large, page 1097; be it further

Resolved, That in the opinion of the directors of the Nashville Bar and Library Association, the people of the United States can only be protected from the repetition of such unlawful acts by such action on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury or Congress and that the Secretary of the Treasury and each Member of Congress from this State

be furnished with a copy of this resolution certified under the hand of the secretary of this association.

I, Elmer D. Davies, secretary of the Nashville Bar and Library Association, hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Nashville Bar and Library Association at its regular meeting on Thursday, February 9, 1928, and as shown by the minutes of said meeting.

ELMER D. DAVIES.

COVE CREEK DAM

Mr. TYSON. Mr. President, I also have a letter from Mr. O. K. Leach, secretary of the Coal Creek Civitans, inclosing a certified copy of a house joint resolution, No. 50, passed by the last Legislature of Tennessee recommending that the name of the proposed Cove Creek Dam site be changed to Coal Creek Dam site. I ask that the letter and accompanying resolution be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

There being no objection, the letter and accompanying resolution were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIRST NATIONAL BANK,
Coal Creek, Tenn., March 3, 1928.

Hon. LAWRENCE D. TYSON,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Inclosed you will find a certified copy of a joint resolution passed by the last Legislature of Tennessee recommending that the name of the proposed Cove Creek Dam be changed to Coal Creek Dam.

We will deeply appreciate the favor if you will use your best efforts to have this name changed in accordance with this resolution.

Yours very truly,

O. K. LEACH,
Secretary Coal Creek Civitans.

STATE OF TENNESSEE,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

I, Ernest N. Haston, secretary of state of the State of Tennessee, do hereby certify that the annexed is a true copy of House Joint Resolution 50, acts of 1927, the original of which is now on file and a matter of record in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my official signature and by order of the governor affixed the great seal of the State of Tennessee at the department in the city of Nashville this 1st day of March, A. D. 1928.

[SEAL.]

ERNEST N. HASTON,
Secretary of State.

House Joint Resolution 50

Whereas the United States surveyors and certain power companies have surveyed a site for a dam to be located on Clinch River near the city of Coal Creek, Anderson County, Tenn., and which location for a dam site is commonly called the Cove Creek Dam site; and

Whereas this dam is located within 4 miles of the city of Coal Creek, which is the nearest city or town to the proposed dam, and the city of Coal Creek is located on the Southern and Louisville & Nashville Railroads and the Dixie Highway; and

Whereas there is so much similarity between the names of Cove Creek and Coal Creek, and there have already been much confusion over these names, whether the dam site is Cove or Coal Creek, and the proposed dam site being located between where the streams of Cove Creek and Coal Creek empty into Clinch River, and the dam site being on Clinch River and not on either of these creeks; and the name of Coal Creek and the location of this city being well known over the State of Tennessee and surrounding States, and the location of the dam would be more easily ascertained if named for the city of Coal Creek: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee (the Senate concurring), That we favor and desire, and we recommend to the Government surveyors and Federal authorities, that the name of the Cove Creek Dam site be changed to the Coal Creek Dam site.

Adopted April 26, 1927.

SELDEN MAIDEN,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
HENRY H. HORTON,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved April 27, 1927.

AUSTIN PEAY, Governor.

TRAINING OF RESERVE OFFICERS

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, I have here a letter in the nature of a petition from Lieut. Col. Weston Jenkins, president of the New York State Reserve Officers' Association of the

United States. It is a very interesting comment upon the discussion which took place here relative to the relationship between the correspondence training during the year and the period of active duty. It is so illuminating that I should like to have this letter printed in the RECORD in connection with my remarks and referred to the Military Committee.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION,
RESERVE OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

March 3, 1928.

Senator ROYAL S. COPELAND,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR COPELAND: Permit me, on behalf of the Reserve Officers' Association of New York State, to express our appreciation to you for your stand in regard to the Thomas amendment. It is also a pleasure to note that you informed the Senate that your colleague, if he were present, would also have voted for that amendment.

It was my privilege to be ordered to active duty at Plattsburg last year in command of the Three hundred and ninetieth Infantry, which, as you know, is a reserve regiment. The Regular Army turned over the citizens' military training camp entirely to the Three hundred and ninetieth Infantry, and with this reserve regiment we inducted, processed, equipped, and initiated the training of 1,600 boys. The work was done to the satisfaction of Colonel Hughes, the commanding officer of Plattsburg Barracks, and paralleled in two weeks exactly the work that would have to be done in a time of emergency over the first two months. We all came home feeling that we had never spent a more profitable two weeks, both from the standpoint of military experience and personal satisfaction in accomplishment, and I certainly believe that no equivalent amount of money is better spent for the national defense than the modest sums which are used for active-duty training of reserve units.

I wish also to state that on my own behalf and on the part of the Reserve Officers' Association of New York State you may rest assured that all reserve officers attending camp this year will justify your faith in the project by the intensive work they will put upon it.

From perusal of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I think that both in the House and in the Senate there is a little misconception as to the relationship between correspondence training during the year and the period of active duty. In my judgment it is a mistake to say that the active-duty training is wasted unless an officer has applied himself to correspondence courses, etc., during the year. Of course, the ideal in this respect is an officer that will take up the correspondence courses and pursue them earnestly during the winter, attends conferences and other methods of military instruction provided by the Regular Army, and then goes to camp for 14 or 15 days and takes the active duty training. This is the ideal. However, the art of war is an exceedingly practical matter. Its most important phase, particularly in the lower ranks, is the handling of men, the habit of command, the ability to make decisions quickly, and this can only be acquired by practical work with troops. There are many officers and, during my experience in the World War, many excellent officers, who have not a studiously inclined mind. Theoretical study is a very difficult thing for them, but take such an officer and put him in the field with troops and he is in his element. Therefore, I would say that, while highly desirable to have officers take both the theoretical and practical instruction, I do not think that active-duty training is in any way wasted when it is given to an officer who is in earnest about it but not studiously inclined.

Pardon the length of this letter, but I feel that this whole question of the reserve project is so important that every phase of it should be carefully explained.

Respectfully yours,

WESTON JENKINS,
Lieutenant Colonel, Infantry Reserve,
President New York State Association, R. O. A.

CHAIN NEWSPAPERS—DINNER TO O. G. VILLARD

Mr. BLEASE. Mr. President, I ask leave to have two short articles, which I send to the desk, read by the Secretary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read, as requested.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., Friday, March 2, 1928]

VILLARD ATTACKS CHAIN NEWSPAPERS—NATION EDITOR CONDEMNS OUTSIDE CONTROL OF DAILIES AT TESTIMONIAL

The "chain" newspaper, which has been extending its hold rapidly throughout the United States during the past 10 years, represents a dangerous trend in American journalism, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, said last night at a dinner given in his honor at the Washington on the tenth anniversary of his editorship of that paper.

The point has been reached, Mr. Villard said, where some of the largest American cities no longer have a locally owned newspaper alive

to local interests but only papers owned and, to a large extent, edited in other cities, whose owners regard them solely as money-making organs.

PAPERS EASY TO ACQUIRE

There are two ways, he said, by which outside interests obtain control of the newspapers of a city. The first is to purchase outright. The second is to purchase by forming a stock company financed by selling preferred stock to local people, while the outside interests retain control by keeping all the common stock.

"A wealthy man," he said, "easily could purchase all the daily and weekly papers in States such as Idaho or Wyoming and thus completely control public opinion in those States. I am not sure but that a man like Henry Ford, if he wished to do so, could even purchase all the newspapers in Michigan, with the possible exception of the Detroit News, and thus dictate public opinion in one of the most important States in the Union."

STRIKE PROBE RELATED

He said he knew of one instance where certain power interests had purchased all the papers in a large California city and 15 other papers in that section of the State with the object of controlling public opinion.

Senator NYE, of North Dakota, was toastmaster at the dinner. Zona Gale and Carl Van Doren also spoke. Senator WHEELER, of Montana, told of his participation of the recent senatorial investigation of the Pennsylvania strike situation. He found the strikers, he said, living in conditions of extreme poverty and the strikebreakers imported by the companies held virtually as slaves.

[From the Washington Daily News, Friday, March 2, 1928]

GRIP ATTACKS SPEAKERS' TABLE AT DINNER TO THE NATION'S EDITOR

That was an odd but interesting gathering at the Nation dinner in the Hall of Nations last night, and my goodness, I thought they would never get through their dessert. We went in for the speeches after the dinner, which about 45 others did, too, and waited without until the last drop of demi-tasse was consumed.

The first people I saw were Doctor and Mrs. White, of St. Elizabeths; Peter Borrás, of the Madrillon; and Frank R. Jelleff.

So that's the radical Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, and what a peaceful gentle soul he is, you say.

GERM SHIPPED HERE

Well, I'm glad the grip germ did not get him, for it seemed to have attacked the speakers' table with a vengeance.

Senator NORRIS, who was to have presided, lost his voice and couldn't come, and Heywood Broun succumbed to the grip, I understand.

Senator NYE, the young and charming Senator from North Dakota, presided instead. He tried a little too hard to speak well, but now and then forgot himself and suggested a very human and delightful personality.

Carl Van Doren, who has a heavy head of hair and horn-rimmed glasses like General Lejeune but is nothing like him, said Heywood Broun meant to come but he knew he wasn't coming, and I'm glad he did, for then we wouldn't have heard Mr. Van Doren's charming talk.

SENATOR WHEELER FORGOT HIMSELF

Senator WHEELER made some delightful pokes at the Republican Party, but unfortunately thought he had to speak longer and got lost in a rather bitter attack on some Republican leaders.

I was interested in every single word Oswald Villard had to say, and so was everybody else, including Mrs. Harriman, who sat between him and Senator WALSH of Montana. Young BOB LA FOLLETTE, just below them, looked bored, but that may be his natural expression, and Zona Gale read her speech—and most too hesitatingly.

There were in the gathering Mr. and Mrs. Frederic William Wile, of course, and Mr. Finnerty and Maurice Long, and Janet Richards.

Abby Scott Baker and Interstate Commerce Commissioner and Mrs. Lewis was there, and I saw Drew Pearson and young Robert Pell, jr.

I liked the Nation already, but I'm going to read more regularly. I forgot to remind you that the dinner was in honor of Mr. Villard's tenth anniversary with the magazine, and it was at the Washington Hotel.—M. B.

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

Mr. BLEASE. Mr. President, I present certain newspaper articles relative to the agricultural situation, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dorchester County Record, March 1, 1928]

CARLOAD SHIPMENTS OF SWEET POTATOES—FOUR MOVING FROM ST. GEORGE THIS WEEK AT 50 CENTS A BUSHEL

County Agent T. M. Cathcart has been busy this week shipping sweet potatoes. He expects to ship three cars of banked sweet potatoes and a car of cured potatoes, and also a carload of mixed pea and soy bean hay.

He secured a price of 50 cents a bushel for banked sweet potatoes, with the hampers thrown in free of charge. This price of 50 cents net for banked sweet potatoes is bringing out quite a quantity for shipment.

He made arrangements to secure 5,000 hampers for shipment of all No. 1 potatoes, and asks all farmers who have potatoes for sale to get in touch with him.

[From the Dorchester County Record, March 1, 1928]

Here is an item of news from Chesterfield, S. C., to which Dorchester County Record invites the attention of its farmer readers:

"Two solid carloads of poultry amounting to 20,000 pounds and representing nearly \$15,000 were bought in this section of the county within three days. The last car was loaded here this afternoon and shipped to Philadelphia. These are the first two cars to be shipped this year. However, there will be more cars to take up the spring supply of fryers. These two cars boost Chesterfield County's total up to 20 cars within the last two years."

Chesterfield farmers are raising poultry in quantity for carload shipments. Those carloads are never gotten up from the few hens the average farmer lets his wife have around the place.

The significant fact is that those carload shipments of poultry are bringing into Chesterfield County as much cash money as the boll weevil infested cotton of this county is bringing into it. And poultry can be raised and shipped every month in the year. There is always a market for it.

[From the Dorchester County Record, March 1, 1928]

FARM OUTLOOK—THE PROSPECT FOR 1928—EVERY FARMER SHOULD CAREFULLY STUDY THIS ARTICLE

(Prepared by Clemson College experts)

This report is made with the object of informing the farm interests of the State of certain conclusions drawn from a study of facts and conditions that influence South Carolina agriculture. The report was prepared in the various agricultural divisions of the college. In its preparation use was made of the facts given in the national Agricultural Outlook for 1928 and of other facts applying more specifically to South Carolina. It is expected that an Outlook statement may be made each year hereafter and that its scope may be broadened, so that it will serve as a source of information, and to some extent as a guide, for planning farm operations.

GENERAL FARM SITUATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The past year was "a boll-weevil year" for the entire coastal plains area and cotton growers are somewhat discouraged, while the Piedmont farmers are feeling better over a better crop and larger income than they have had for several years. In the tobacco-growing territory the effect of this will probably tend to cause an increase in tobacco acreage at the expense of cotton, notwithstanding the prospect for lower prices on flue-cured types of tobacco if there is any considerable increase of acreage over the entire flue-cured area. While cigarette consumption is increasing, it is reported that stocks of flue-cured tobacco are increasing more rapidly.

However, in a choice of cash crops, the veteran tobacco growers may figure that their chances with tobacco are as good as with cotton, considering that cotton is subject to price fluctuation as well as boll-weevil damage. The tobacco growers who pay attention to quality, yield per acre, and prevention of disease will continue to hold the leadership in production through periods of low prices and if anybody is forced out of production it will be those who follow slipshod methods whether in this State or some other.

"More than one crop" is fast becoming the rule in the coastal plains. Farmers are specializing in some one crop other than cotton, and this is being done by communities or regions. Asparagus, tobacco, hogs, poultry, and various truck crops are being perfected as a source of income by farmers in one or more counties of this section of the State.

In the Piedmont additional sources of income are being developed somewhat more slowly and in a more generalized way. Fruit crops, truck for local markets, dairying on a small scale, poultry raising, and the growing of more feed crops seem to offer the most likely opportunities for additional income.

FARM LABOR AND EQUIPMENT

The labor supply in South Carolina in 1928 will be largely determined by local conditions. That is to say, in sections immediately adjoining industrial centers or near extensive public-construction work, there will probably be local shortage of labor. The State has sufficient agricultural labor to care for the probable acreage of cultivated crops.

In those communities where the probable labor supply is insufficient to care for the normal cultivated acreage, it will pay farmers to prepare for the cultivation of their crops by securing labor-saving machinery, so that the available labor may care for a normal acreage. Where land is plentiful and labor scarce, the growing of crops that have a smaller labor requirement per acre should be considered. Of course, the growing of such crops would have to fit into a balanced system of farming.

COTTON

The present indication is that the 1928 cotton crop will be sold on a market that is feeling the influence of a smaller carry over than was the case with the 1927 crop, and about the same probable consumption as during the preceding year.

The South Carolina production is but a small factor in determining the market price, which is fixed on a basis of world supply and demand. There are at least two factors other than acreage which will determine production in this State the present year. These are amount of fertilizer used and boll weevil damage. The fertilizer applied to cotton largely determines the acre yield, other factors remaining constant.

Due to the fact that the farmers of the State as a whole received greater returns for the 1927 cotton crop than was anticipated at planting, the fall outlook was for greater consumption of fertilizer in 1928. When fertilizer prices are relatively high as compared with cotton prices, farmers tend to reduce their purchases of fertilizer; while if the opposite relationship exists, buying of fertilizer is heavier. The farmer estimates the profitability of different applications at different prices of fertilizer and of cotton. Since the cotton market has declined 6 to 8 cents from the prices of last fall, the present prospect for the total amount of fertilizer to be used is not as great as was the late fall prospect.

The following extract on the boll weevil situation is quoted from the National Outlook: "The yield per acre will depend to a material extent upon the abundance of boll weevils. Weevils undoubtedly entered hibernation in the fall of 1927 in larger numbers and with greater vitality than for several years."

The individual grower should acquaint himself with the quality of cotton he produces, so that he will be in a position to demand the premium that the quality of his cotton warrants and seek a market where this is paid.

The corn-production problem of the South Carolina farmer is entirely different from that of the Corn-Belt farmer. In this State the production of corn is almost entirely for home consumption, very little being sold out of the State.

The present acreage of corn in South Carolina is more than sufficient to meet all State needs were the yield per acre increased to the point of economic production. The individual farmer's problem is, therefore, to get more acre yield at low acre yield at low cost per bushel.

SMALL GRAIN

The production of the small grains in South Carolina is mostly for home consumption, so that the individual farmer is not as much concerned in market prices as determined by the world market as is the midwest farmer. Our problem is one of economic production or increased acre yield.

A sufficient quantity of small grain should be produced to meet all needs for home use. Within reason the higher the acre yield the less it will cost to produce the quantity needed. Individual farmers should consider substituting oats for corn where it has been found possible to produce oats at a lower cost per unit of feed than corn.

GRAPES

Grapes should be planted only for local or near-by market. There is very small acreage grown in this State compared to peaches and in many communities no grapes are grown. It is not advisable to ship the varieties we grow in this State to northern markets. The acreage of California grapes is too much larger for profitable prices and our grapes can not compare with the California type as a dessert grape.

STRAWBERRIES

The outlook is fair in the six second early States, Southern California, Tennessee, Arkansas, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. The indicated acreage of 54,200 in 1928, while larger than in 1925, 1926, or 1927, does not seem excessive, unless an unusual season causes abnormal competition from Louisiana. The lower price in some States in 1927 may partly be explained by the unusually large yield per acre.

WATERMELONS

There seems to be no reason for reducing the acreage in South Carolina. If the growers will improve the quality of their product and ship only melons averaging 24 pounds or larger, they should have no reason to expect other than satisfactory prices with the present acreage.

SWEET POTATOES

The growers in South Carolina need to produce more No. 1 potatoes, which should reduce their cost of production. They should also use proper storage methods. Unless they do, satisfactory prices can not be expected with the present acreage.

There are many places in the State, however, where many vegetable crops can be grown for a local market at a profit. The grower will have to decide for himself whether or not crops are being raised in sufficient quantities in his locality. A survey of local conditions should be made in order to determine just how much of a demand can be expected and how many acres of these crops may be planted.

For those who live on heavily traveled roads there is good opportunity to sell vegetables at roadside market houses. This method of disposing of vegetables and fruits is largely used in the North and East.

For those who produce quality vegetables, display them in an attractive manner, and charge a fair price it should prove remunerative. In many localities there are good openings for the production and sale of certain crops, but such conditions can only be found by an intelligent investigation.

Roadside markets provide an excellent outlet for fruits, and even more so than for vegetables, and where conditions are suitable for this method of marketing it would seem advisable to plant fruits of all different kinds adapted to that particular section. For best results with roadside markets one should have a succession of crops that would enable one to keep the roadside house supplied throughout the summer months with fruits and vegetables. The longer such markets are kept open during the year the better they become advertised, and this will help to obtain trade. Roadside market houses should be attractive and need not be expensive.

HOGS

In 1925-26 the high prices of hogs stimulated hog production to such an extent that we now have what is generally considered an overproduction. The swine industry is passing through the low period of its cycle. In 1927 there were from 6 to 8 per cent more pigs raised in the United States than in 1926. With corn prices 20 per cent higher and hog prices 30 per cent lower than last year, the corn-hog ratio is not as favorable for feeding hogs. Indications are that in 1927 there will be no decrease in corn acreage, but there will be a decrease in the number of hogs produced. This will make the corn-hog ratio more favorable for hog feeding.

It is encouraging to note that even during these low prices of pork the demonstration-fed hogs in this State have returned well above \$1 per bushel for corn, and almost without exception the demonstrators have made money on their hog-feeding operations. It is predicted that in the next two years history will repeat itself and there will be considerably more money made on hogs than has been made this year. The hog cycle extends over a period of from three to five years. Since the cycle has now swung to its low level, the next two or three years should be exceptionally favorable for economical pork production. We may expect higher prices and greater profits for the years 1928-29 than we have had for the year 1927.

SHEEP AND WOOL

Breeding ewes are exceptionally hard to buy, high-grade ewes ranging in price from \$14 to \$16 per head. This is due to the fact that sheep producers in all of the sheep-producing States are trying to enlarge their flocks, hence the demand for ewe stock. Since 1922 the number of ewes in the United States has increased at the rate of 1,000,000 head per year. On January 1, 1928, the lamb crop estimates showed an increase of 6.5 over January 1, 1927.

With the increase in the supply of spring lambs from California and other spring lamb producing areas it is quite probable that the spring advance in price this year will be somewhat less marked than usual. In South Carolina the farmers have an opportunity to produce a better grade of lambs than they have been producing, consequently they are in position to make as much, if not more, on their spring lambs than they have been making. In view of the fact that California must ship her spring lambs practically across the United States for the best markets, South Carolina has a decided advantage from the standpoint of geographical location or nearness to market.

At this particular time it does not seem wise to go into the sheep business on a big scale, but it is a splendid time to gradually grow into the business and be in line for the higher prices which will come later.

The wool situation seems to be somewhat different from the lamb situation inasmuch as the outlook for wool prices indicates an advance; supplies abroad are light and foreign markets continue strong. There is also very little surplus wool in the United States and the textile centers seem to have renewed their confidence in the manufacture of woolen goods.

MULES

For the past few years mule production has on the average been unprofitable, consequently large numbers of farmers in mule-producing sections have discontinued the keeping of breeding animals. It is therefore probable that in the near future there will be fewer work animals than are needed. It would be a wise policy for the farmers of the South to replace the old animals by younger animals which would be serviceable over a longer period of years. By making this substitution when mules are relatively low in price there will be a considerable saving. Good roads and the adaptation of motor power to a great variety of farm work has been the chief cause for the over-supply of mules and the low prices of same.

BEEF CATTLE

In 1928 the market supply of cattle will probably be smaller than in 1927. The reason for this is that the number of cattle and calves on farms the country over January 1, 1928, was the smallest number since 1912. With the exception of 1921, the total slaughter of cattle and calves each year since 1917 has exceeded the number of calves born. The number of cattle on feed in the Corn Belt January 1, 1928, was 6

per cent below January 1, 1927. Stockers and feeders for the coming year will probably sell slightly in advance of the 1927 market. It appears that the beef-cattle industry is now at its lowest point in numbers of cattle. The beef-cattle cycle usually extends over a period of from 14 to 16 years and, judging from the past, it is expected that beef cattle will bring good prices for the next several years, and the cattle market for the next 12 months will probably remain steady, with fewer fluctuations than it usually has. This outlook for beef-cattle producers and cattle feeders is encouraging. The most difficult part of the cattle-feeding operations in South Carolina for the next years will be to buy the feeders at a reasonable price. Experienced cattlemen report that, as a general rule, there is more money in feeding cattle when they are relatively high in price than when they are relatively low.

DAIRYING

The dairy industry as a whole is on as strong a basis as a year ago. Expansion will be rather limited, due to insufficient cows. The high price of beef cattle seems to make it advisable to save heifer calves that are sired by good bulls in order to replace inferior cows now being milked while they can be sold for beef at good prices.

Since South Carolina is importing approximately \$10,000,000 worth of dairy products a year, it seems that considerable expansion in this field for the State is advisable, if feed crops sufficient to care for the dairy cows are grown at home. Summer and winter legumes, including alfalfa in the Piedmont, seem to offer a good basis for some expansion in dairy production. There are creameries enough to assure markets for all the butterfat produced. There is a larger demand for milk to be manufactured into cheese, condensed milk, and butter. This demand is created by the increased consumption of fresh-fluid milk and sweet cream in the large centers of population which have reduced the opportunity for turning out these manufactured products in the old dairy sections of the country, due to the increased price that is paid on the open market for these fresh products.

An opportunity is especially offered farmers to increase their own supplies of milk and its products in order to more nearly meet their table demands.

The State now has 160,000 milk cows, and since we have 172,000 farms it is evident that many thousands of these farms do not have a family milk cow. The average family in the United States to-day spends 24% of every dollar used for the purchase of food supplies for dairy products. If this proportion of the grocery bill can be furnished farm families by producing their daily supplies at home it would materially reduce cash outlay for groceries needed on the farm.

EGG AND POULTRY

Conditions appear favorable for poultry producers in South Carolina during the coming year. With no noticeable increase in hens and pullets on farms throughout the country egg prices should remain strong, especially during the first part of the year. Indications are favorable for an increase in egg storage, which should tend to hold up prices during the season of heaviest production.

Stocks of dressed poultry are 18 per cent below those of last year. This condition should be reflected in higher prices for both broilers and cull hens.

Since South Carolina is a poultry and egg importing State, based on yearly production and consumption, there is ample opportunity for an expansion of the poultry business on a profitable basis, provided efficient production practices are followed. These include keeping standard-bred birds of high production, proper houses, suitable rations made up largely of home-grown feeds, rational culling, and attention to management and disease and parasite control.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. HALE, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 1955) for the relief of Lieut. Charles Thomas Wooten, United States Navy, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 467) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 2410) to amend section 1440 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 468) thereon.

Mr. FESS, from the Committee on the Library, to which was referred the bill (S. 1369) to authorize and direct the survey, construction, and maintenance of a memorial highway to connect Mount Vernon, in the State of Virginia, with the Arlington Memorial Bridge across the Potomac River at Washington, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 469) thereon.

Mr. CAPPER, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2859) for the relief of Francis J. Young, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 470) thereon.

Mr. DENEEN, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 6579) for the relief of James W. Kingon, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 471) thereon.

Mr. BAYARD, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2788) for the relief of Charlie McDonald, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 472) thereon.

Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 4702) for the relief of Benjamin S. McHenry, alias Henry Benjamin, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 473) thereon.

Mr. WATERMAN, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (S. 2126) to provide for compensation for Ona Harrington for injuries received in an airplane accident, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 474) thereon.

Mr. NYE, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2809) for the relief of the heirs of Jacob Thomas, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 475) thereon.

Mr. WATERMAN, from the Committee on Claims, to which were referred the following bills, reported adversely thereon:

A bill (S. 50) for the relief of the Security National Bank, of Lawton, Okla. (Rept. No. 476);

A bill (S. 1642) for the relief of William Volkert (Rept. No. 477); and

A bill (S. 2419) for the relief of R. Depue (Rept. No. 478).

RIGHTS OF WAY OVER VICKSBURG NATIONAL PARK

Mr. FLETCHER. From the Committee on Military Affairs, I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 11197) to authorize the Secretary of War to grant rights of way to the Vicksburg Bridge & Terminal Co. upon, over, and across the Vicksburg National Military Park at Vicksburg, Warren County, Miss., and I submit a report (No. 465) thereon. I call the attention of the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STEPHENS] to the bill.

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill just reported by the Senator from Florida.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to know what the bill provides.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the bill; and there being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to grant to the Vicksburg Bridge & Terminal Co., a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware, its successors and assigns, rights of way, in such location and under such conditions and regulations as are deemed advisable by the Secretary of War, for the construction, maintenance, and operation of railroad, telegraph, telephone, street car, water, gas, oil, and electric light and power lines, and a highway for vehicular traffic upon, over, and across the Vicksburg National Military Park in the county of Warren, State of Mississippi: *Provided*, That such construction, maintenance, and operation shall not interfere with the use of said military park for the purpose for which established: *And provided further*, That any and all work that may be required by the Secretary of War to be performed by the Vicksburg Bridge & Terminal Co., its successors and assigns, shall be without expense to the United States.

SEC. 2. That any other person, firm, corporation, copartnership, or association organized or existing under the laws of any State or Territory of the United States, or the trustees, lessees, or receivers thereof, having a franchise for the operation of railroad, telegraph, telephone, street car, water, gas, oil, and electric light and power line or lines may, upon obtaining a license from the Secretary of War, use the facilities mentioned, or any of them, upon payment to the Vicksburg Bridge & Terminal Co. of just compensation for such use; and if the parties concerned can not agree upon the amount of such compensation, the sum or sums to be paid for the said use shall be fixed by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 3. That no part of such rights of way as may be granted by the Secretary of War under the provisions of this act for the purposes aforesaid shall be used for any other purpose or purposes, and if any part thereof shall be so used, or shall cease to be used for the purposes for which granted, such part shall revert to the United States.

SEC. 4. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

Mr. SMOOT. I will ask the Senator if the bill is in regular form and has it been drawn up by the department?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; and it meets the approval of the department.

Mr. SMOOT. Then, I have no objection to the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MENOMINEE RIVER BRIDGE, WISCONSIN AND MICHIGAN

Mr. DALE. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 176) granting consent of Congress to an agreement or compact between the State of Wisconsin and the State of Michigan for the construction, maintenance, and operation of a highway bridge across the Menominee River, and I submit a report (No. 466) thereon.

I call the attention of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. BLAINE] to the joint resolution.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the consent of Congress of the United States be, and it is hereby, given to the States of Wisconsin and Michigan to enter into the agreement or compact executed by the State highway commissioner of the State of Wisconsin and the Highway Commission of the State of Michigan pursuant to authority of chapter 87 of the Wisconsin statutes, and the authority of Act 354 of the public acts of 1925, and Special Act 98 of the public acts of 1927 of the State of Michigan: *Provided*, That nothing therein contained shall be construed as impairing or in any manner affecting any right or jurisdiction of the United States in and over the region which forms the subject of said agreement, which agreement is in words and figures as follows:

AGREEMENT

MENOMINEE-MARINETTE BRIDGE AT BRIDGE STREET RELOCATION WISCONSIN HIGHWAY COMMISSION WITH MICHIGAN STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER

This agreement, executed this 14th day of January, 1927, by and between Frank F. Rogers, State highway commissioner of the State of Michigan, with offices at Lansing, Mich., party of the first part; and the Wisconsin Highway Commission, with offices at Madison, Wis., party of the second part:

Witnesseth that:

"Whereas the existing interstate bridge, crossing the Menominee River at Bridge Street and joining the municipalities of Marinette, Wis., and Menominee, Mich., is in an unsafe condition and requires early reconstruction; and

"Whereas a proper plan for reconstruction involves a relocation and includes a grade separation and expensive approach fills and properly extends as a project from the center of Dunlap Square in the city of Marinette to the center line of Ogden Avenue in the city of Menominee; and

"Whereas the State boundary line, as determined by the United States Supreme Court in a late decision, lies entirely north of the proposed actual structure spanning the Menominee River, and thereby complicates the respective responsibilities of the two parties hereto both as regards construction and maintenance obligations.

"Now, therefore, it is hereby agreed:

"1. That this project shall, subject to changes to be hereafter mutually agreed upon as signified by joint approval of all subsequent plans and estimates, be built in accord with the preliminary plans prepared by the first party and marked "Exhibit A" and approved by the second party and hereto attached and considered as an integral part of this agreement, and that the detailed plans and specifications for the project shall be prepared by the first party subject to the approval of the second party.

"2. That each party shall either directly or through the respective cities, townships, and counties within which the work is situated, furnish and bear the full cost of all right of way and abutting and property damages arising from or necessary to the execution of the plans as they may be finally, mutually, and jointly approved by the said parties, as applying to property situated on the side of the existing interstate boundary line subject to the jurisdiction of the respective parties hereto or the respective cities, townships, and counties within the respective States.

"3. That aside from the stipulations stated in item 2 above, the entire cost of fully executing the project shall be borne equally by the respective parties hereto and that to this end any contribution or assessment, to be hereafter paid by the Chicago & North Western Railway Co. and/or by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. and/or by any other public-utility company affected by the project, shall be credited equally to the shares of the parties hereto and, further, that any contribution or assessment, which may be arranged by either party to be paid by a county, township, or municipality within the respective States, shall be guaranteed by the respective parties hereto, and that all payments and transactions in the handling of the construction of this project shall be directly between the parties hereto, each of whom agrees to act as its own collecting agent in dealing with the other contributing parties in their respective States.

"4. All contracts shall be let jointly by the first and second parties hereto, who shall jointly constitute the first party to all such contracts,

and no contracts shall be let until after formal approval of awards by each party. The work of construction shall be administered under the joint supervision of the first and second parties as first party of all of the aforesaid contracts to be let under the terms of this agreement, but the second party hereto agrees that its inspection and supervision shall be administered through the representatives of the first party and not through direct dealings with the contractors, and that any matters of dispute in regard to the administration of the contracts shall be adjusted jointly by the bridge engineers of the respective parties hereto. Each party may retain such engineering assistance in supervising the work as it may deem necessary, and the cost of such engineering, including office work and administration as may become necessary, shall be considered a legitimate charge to the project. Estimates to the contractor shall be paid direct by each party hereto, each in the amount of 50 per cent of the total estimated amounts due under the provisions of the specifications of the first party and as approved by the second party, all estimates being prepared by the first party at two-week intervals or thereabouts, approved by the first party and submitted to the second party for approval, the second party making payment direct to the contractor on approval of estimates, and the first party likewise making payment to the contractor on receipt of copies of the estimates after being approved by the second party. Authorizations for extra work will be handled in the same manner as the original contracts. The engineering costs on this project will be considered as including expenditures made by each party prior to the date of the execution of this agreement as well as all such costs subsequent thereto.

"5. The work to be covered by this agreement is further indicated in an approximate preliminary estimate of cost known as Exhibit B, based on Exhibit A, attached herewith and considered as an integral part of this agreement. This estimate is for preliminary budget purposes, it being agreed that the shares of the respective parties shall be based upon the actual cost of the work.

"6. For the purpose of future maintenance it is hereby agreed that the first and second parties shall, upon completion of this project, each maintain that portion of the project (or bear the expense of doing so) which lies north and south, respectively, of the center of the third span measured from the north end of the river structure.

"7. That the first and second parties shall, through their respective United States Senators and Congressmen from the districts within which the project is situated, take the necessary steps to secure the approval of the United States Congress at the 1928 session, authorizing the construction of said project, and also the necessary approval of the United States War Department.

"In witness whereof the parties hereto have on the day first above written caused this agreement to be executed by their proper authorities.

"FOR THE STATE OF MICHIGAN,

"By FRANK F. ROGERS,

"State Highway Commissioner.

"FOR THE STATE OF WISCONSIN,

"By WISCONSIN HIGHWAY COMMISSION,

"(Signed) C. R. WEYMOUTH, Secretary.

"[SEAL]

"Approved as to form.

"LINCOLN E. BRANDT,

"Legal Adviser.

"Approved December 1, 1927.

"(Signed) C. A. MELICK,

"Bridge Engineer, Michigan State Highway Department."

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this resolution is hereby expressly reserved.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3484) for the conservation of rainfall in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 3485) to amend section 4426 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of Congress approved May 16, 1906; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 3486) granting an increase of pension to Emma M. Backus; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3487) to amend section 3207 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by section 1030 of the act approved June 2, 1924; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. WILLIS:

A bill (S. 3488) granting a pension to Herbert A. Maloney (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 3489) granting an increase of pension to Jennie Lyle (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts:

A bill (S. 3490) granting a pension to Catherine Sullivan; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 3491) for the relief of Fannie C. Marden; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COPELAND:

A bill (S. 3492) granting an increase of pension to Lina Kimball; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 3493) granting a pension to Daisy Lee Demaree; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CUTTING:

A bill (S. 3494) granting a pension to Edward Sherlock; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHIPSTEAD:

A bill (S. 3495) granting an increase of pension to Carrie Bissell (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 3496) for the relief of Annie A. Divney; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. REED of Pennsylvania:

A bill (S. 3497) to authorize an appropriation to complete the purchase of real estate in Hawaii;

A bill (S. 3498) to authorize an appropriation to complete construction at Fort Wadsworth, N. Y.; and

(By request.) A bill (S. 3499) to provide for the appointment from civil life of John Hafner to the grade of warrant officer, United States Army, and immediate retirement from the service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3500) for the relief of the city of Philadelphia; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FRAZIER:

A bill (S. 3501) to provide for the construction of a boarding school for Indian children at Belcourt, in the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation, State of North Dakota;

(By request.) A bill (S. 3502) to amend the proviso of the act approved August 24, 1912, with reference to educational leave to employees of the Indian Service; and

(By request.) A bill (S. 3503) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to purchase certain lots in the city of Needles, San Bernardino County, Calif., for Indian use, and authorizing an appropriation of funds therefor; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. KEYES (for Mr. MOSES):

A bill (S. 3504) granting an increase of pension to Hattie C. White (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWANSON:

A bill (S. 3505) authorizing the Great Falls Bridge Co., its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Potomac River at or near the Great Falls (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 3506) for the relief of the owners of the British steamship *Larchgrove*; and

A bill (S. 3507) for the relief of the Eagle Transport Co. (Ltd.) and the West of England Steamship Owners' Protection & Indemnity Association (Ltd.); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. PINE:

A bill (S. 3508) to increase the number of members of the Federal Reserve Board, to make the board more representative, to provide for the proper control and equitable distribution of the credit supply, to establish closer contact between the Congress and its agent, the Federal Reserve Board, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RANDELL:

A bill (S. 3509) authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to sell at private sale a portion of the Point aux Herbe Light-house Reservation; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. GOODING:

A bill (S. 3510) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to contract with the North Side Canal Co. with respect to the construction of certain works on the Minidoka reclamation project; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

By Mr. CARAWAY:

A bill (S. 3511) granting the consent of Congress to the State Highway Commission of Arkansas to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the White River at Cotter, Ark.; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. REED of Pennsylvania:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 107) authorizing and requesting the Postmaster General to design and issue a special postage stamp in honor of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the encampment of Washington's army at Valley Forge, Pa.; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. EDGE:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 108) tendering the thanks of the American people and the Congress of the United States to the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, chairman of the delegation of the United States of America to the Sixth International Conference of American States; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

FLOOD CONTROL

Mr. McKELLAR submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 3434) for the control of floods on the Mississippi River from the Head of Passes to Cairo, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

STANDARDS FOR HAMPERS, ROUND STAVE BASKETS, ETC.

Mr. BRUCE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2148) to fix standards for hampers, round stave baskets, and splint baskets for fruits and vegetables, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO MUSCLE SHOALS RESOLUTION

Mr. NORRIS, Mr. McKELLAR, and Mr. METCALF each submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 46) providing for the completion of Dam No. 2 and the steam plant at nitrate plant No. 2 in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the manufacture and distribution of fertilizer, and for other purposes, which were severally ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. TYSON. I submit an amendment that I wish to offer to Senate Joint Resolution 46 relative to Muscle Shoals. I ask that the amendment be considered as read, that it lie on the table, and be published in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the amendment was ordered to lie on the table, to be printed, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page 5, after line 10, insert the following new sections:

"SEC. 9. In order to assure the farmers of the country of the Government's earnest endeavor to aid in the production of cheap fertilizers on a large scale and with the least practicable delay, and to encourage private manufacturers to use new methods in the endeavor to produce cheap fertilizers on a large scale—

"(a) As soon as the Secretary of Agriculture shall be reasonably satisfied from the experimentation and investigations herein provided for that a method has been found for the fixation of nitrogen which can be successfully used at Muscle Shoals, Ala., in the large scale manufacture of cheap fertilizers for the use of the farmers of the country, there shall be turned over to him nitrate plant No. 2 and all other Government property, real and personal, and all materials and equipment connected therewith and necessary in the operation of said nitrate plant No. 2, and not required in the operation of Dam No. 2 and steam plant No. 2, and not otherwise disposed of hereunder, to be used for the purposes hereinafter provided.

"The Secretary of Agriculture shall forthwith proceed to lease said nitrate plant No. 2 and such other property and equipment at Muscle Shoals as may be required and necessary of the property which has been turned over to him, for a term not exceeding 25 years, beginning not later than January 1, 1931, if practicable, upon such terms and conditions as will promote the large-scale production and distribution, by such method as he has found most successful, of cheap fertilizer for the use of farmers.

"Such lease may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, in order to cheapen the cost of fertilizers, be without rental charge to the lessee, except reasonable charges to cover depreciation, maintenance, and repair of the plant as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"The terms and conditions of the lease shall include (1) a stipulation and guaranty with suitable surety bond that the lessee will, as rapidly as possible, increase the production of such plant so that not less than 5,000 tons of fixed nitrogen will be produced and used in the manufacture of fertilizer during the first year of the lease; and, if same can be sold, in each year thereafter an amount exceeding by at least 5,000 tons the amount produced during the preceding year, until 40,000 tons per annum are produced and so used; (2) a stipulation and guaranty that the lessee will install the necessary plant and equipment to carry out the foregoing provisions with respect to production; and (3) a stipulation and guaranty that fertilizers will be manufactured and sold by the lessee at the lowest possible prices consistent with a fair and reasonable return for the lessee, such prices to be equitably adjusted in the lease.

"If no satisfactory lease can be made, subject to condition (2) above, the Secretary of Agriculture may agree to equip the plant for the lessee, as and when needed, from appropriations made out of the special fund.

"(b) If the Secretary of Agriculture is unable to lease nitrate plant No. 2 upon satisfactory terms and conditions, as above provided, he shall proceed as soon as practicable to operate or contract for the operation under his direction of such plant for the manufacture of fertilizers for farmers by the method found by him to be most successful, and dispose of fertilizers so manufactured at cost, which shall include all expenses in connection with the manufacture, except that no allowance shall be made on account of rental for plant No. 2. Within appropriations therefor, the Secretary of Agriculture shall increase the production of such plant so that not less than 5,000 tons of fixed nitrogen will be produced and used in the manufacture of fertilizers during the first year of operation, and, if same can be sold, in each year thereafter an amount exceeding by at least 5,000 tons the amount produced during the preceding year until 40,000 tons per annum are produced and so used.

"(c) For the purposes herein provided, whether nitrate plant No. 2 is operated by a lessee or by the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to make alterations, modifications, or improvements in existing facilities or equipment of nitrate plant No. 2, to dispose of any part of such facilities, and to construct and operate new equipment and facilities; except that any equipment or facilities now at nitrate plant No. 2, which the Secretary of War considers necessary to retain for the manufacture of explosives for the national defense shall not be disposed of, but shall be retained and kept at all times in a serviceable condition for use.

"(d) Moneys received by the Secretary of Agriculture from sale of fertilizers or from any sale or lease of plant or facilities under this section shall be paid into the special fund provided for in section 5 and such fund shall be available for maintenance, operation, and upkeep of the plant and equipment of nitrate plant No. 2 in addition to the purposes specified in such section.

"(e) In making any lease or any contract for power the Secretary of War shall reserve the right to recapture the amount of power which the Secretary of Agriculture shall estimate may be needed by him under the conditions of this resolution and the same shall be supplied to the Secretary of Agriculture when and as needed, and at prices specified in section 8.

"SEC. 10. The Secretary of War is authorized and directed to maintain nitrate plant No. 2 in reasonably good order and condition until disposed of as provided for in this resolution or as otherwise directed by the Congress.

"SEC. 11. In any lease or contract for power or for the operation of any of the plants herein mentioned reasonable provision shall be made for recapturing and taking over by the United States the properties herein mentioned and cancellation of any contract herein provided for, when, in the opinion of the President of the United States, the national safety or welfare requires.

"The appropriations necessary for carrying out the purposes of this resolution are hereby authorized.

"On page 5, line 11, strike out '9' and insert in lieu thereof '12.'

"On page 5, line 15, strike out '10' and insert in lieu thereof '13.'"

Mr. SMITH. I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 46) regarding Muscle Shoals, introduced by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], and ask to have it printed, printed in the RECORD, and lie on the table.

There being no objection, the amendment was ordered to lie on the table, to be printed, and printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SECTION 1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of the United States to maintain and improve the plants and facilities specified in section 3 of this resolution and to operate them to the fullest extent in order to further provide for the national defense by insuring an adequate supply of nitrates for use in time of war and to promote agriculture through the development of cheaper commercial fertilizers, it being the intent of this resolution that in time of peace such plants and facilities shall be operated solely for the benefit of agriculture.

MUSCLE SHOALS COMMISSION

SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Muscle Shoals commission (hereinafter in this resolution referred to as the "commission") to be composed of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Agriculture.

(b) The commission shall continue in existence for a period of 10 years unless sooner terminated by act of Congress.

TRANSFER OF PLANTS AND FACILITIES

SEC. 3. The United States nitrate plants Nos. 1 and 2, located, respectively, at Sheffield, Ala., and Muscle Shoals, Ala., together with all

real estate and buildings used in connection therewith, all tools, machinery, equipment, accessories, and materials thereunto belonging, and all laboratories and plants used as auxiliaries thereto; the fixed nitrogen research laboratory; the Waco limestone quarry in Alabama; and Dam No. 2, located in the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals, its power house, and all of its hydroelectric operating appurtenances (except the locks), and all machinery, lands, and buildings in connection therewith, are hereby transferred to the commission for use by it in executing the functions vested in it by this resolution.

FUNCTIONS OF COMMISSION

SEC. 4. In carrying out the provisions of this resolution all functions vested in the President by the first two paragraphs of section 124 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916 (including such of those functions as are now being exercised by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Agriculture, respectively), shall, subject to the approval of the President, be exercised by the commission.

DEVELOPMENT OF POWER

SEC. 5. (a) The commission is authorized and directed to utilize to the fullest extent the plants and facilities made available to it under section 3, and to construct, maintain, and operate such additional plants and facilities as it considers necessary, for the development of power by steam or water for the purposes specified in section 6. Any excess power developed may be disposed of, under such terms and conditions as the commission may prescribe, to any State or political subdivision thereof, or to any individual, partnership, association, or corporation.

(b) The commission shall give preference, in the disposition of such excess power, to the power requirements of States, political subdivisions of States, and public-service companies.

(c) In order to dispose of such power in the manner which the commission considers most advantageous to the United States and to the public interest, the commission may enter into leases for terms of years, may make contracts, may construct and/or operate either singly or with any State or political subdivision thereof, or any individual, partnership, association, or corporation, transmission lines or other power projects, and do all other acts which it considers necessary to effectuate the purposes of this resolution.

PRODUCTION OF FERTILIZER

SEC. 6. (a) In order to further develop the art of nitrogen fixation, experiments shall be undertaken to produce mixed fertilizers on a commercial scale, so that the actual cost of such fertilizers may be determined. Fertilizers produced as a result of such experiments shall be offered to farmers, farm organizations, and to dealers at such prices as will cover the cost of production; or in the event that the cost of production of such fertilizers is excessive, they shall be offered at prices which the commission finds fair in order to meet commercial competition. In order that definite results may be obtained in such experiments, the facilities and equipment for each such experiment shall be utilized until it is satisfactorily shown that it is or is not commercially feasible to produce fertilizers by the method or process used in such experiment. The result of each such experiment and a statement of cost and sale prices of the fertilizers so produced shall be reported to Congress in the annual report provided for in section 10.

(b) Whenever the commission determines that it is commercially feasible to produce any such fertilizer, it shall be produced in the largest quantities practicable, and shall be disposed of at the lowest prices practicable, to meet the agricultural demands therefor, and to effectuate the purposes of this resolution.

(c) The commission is authorized to make alterations, modifications, or improvements in existing plants and facilities, to dispose of any part of such facilities, and to construct and operate new plants and facilities, in order to properly effectuate the provisions of this section.

MUSCLE SHOALS FUND

SEC. 7. There is hereby established in the Treasury a fund to be known as the "Muscle Shoals fund," and all amounts received by the commission in executing the functions vested in it by this resolution, together with all amounts appropriated or made available by section 8, shall be covered into such fund, and are reserved, set aside, and appropriated to be available for use by the commission in accordance with the provisions of this resolution. If at any time the commission determines that there is accumulated in such fund an amount in excess of that necessary to carry out the provisions of this resolution, such amount shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 8. (a) All unexpended balances of the amount appropriated under section 124 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and all unexpended balances of appropriations made for Muscle Shoals under any act making appropriations for the military and nonmilitary activities of the War Department are hereby transferred to the Muscle Shoals fund and made available for expenditure as are other amounts in such fund.

(b) There is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$5,000,000, to be available until expended for the purposes of this resolution.

PERSONNEL

Sec. 9. (a) The commission may (1) appoint and fix the salaries of such advisers and experts and, in accordance with the civil service laws appoint, and, in accordance with the classification act of 1923, fix the compensation of, such other officers and employees, and (2) make such expenditures (including expenditures for rent and personal services at the seat of government and elsewhere, for law books, periodicals, and books of reference, and for printing and binding) as may be necessary for the execution of the functions vested in the commission and as may be provided for by the Congress from time to time.

(b) The commission shall, to the extent deemed advisable by it, exercise its functions by and through the Department of War and the Department of Agriculture, and the engineering, technical, clerical, and other personnel of such departments. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of Agriculture shall detail for service with the commission such of the personnel of their respective departments as the commission deems necessary in carrying out the provisions of this resolution.

ANNUAL REPORT AND REGULATIONS

Sec. 10. (a) The commission shall submit to Congress at the beginning of each regular session a detailed report of its operations for the preceding fiscal year.

(b) The commission is authorized to make such regulations as may be necessary to effectuate the functions vested in it by this resolution.

PROVISION FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Sec. 11. The commission shall utilize the plants and facilities under its jurisdiction and shall dispose of the power developed under authority of section 5 in such manner and subject to the limitation that in the event of a national emergency such plants and facilities and such power shall be immediately available for use by the United States for the national defense.

SHORT TITLE

Sec. 12. This resolution may be cited as the "Muscle Shoals resolution of 1928."

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution to create a commission for Muscle Shoals, and for other purposes."

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, some time ago I introduced the bill (S. 735) authorizing the conversion of the United States Veterans' Hospital No. 94, at American Lake, Wash., from a neuropsychopathic hospital into a general medical and surgical hospital, and authorizing an appropriation therefor. The bill was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. I understand, however, that the Finance Committee has dealt with measures of this kind in the past and apparently has jurisdiction over them. So I ask that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds may be discharged from the further consideration of the bill indicated by me and that the bill may be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Fess in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECODIFICATION OF MARITIME LAW FOR WAR TIMES

On motion of Mr. BORAH, the resolution (S. Res. 157) favoring a restatement and recodification of the rules of maritime law in time of war was taken from the table and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

INVESTIGATION OF BREAD PRICES

Mr. WALSH of Montana. Mr. President, there was transmitted by the Federal Trade Commission under date of January 11, 1928, a final report made pursuant to a resolution of the Senate, No. 163, agreed to February 16, 1924, directing an inquiry into the monopolization of the production of bread. I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Printing.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF DISTRICT PUBLIC UTILITY COMPANIES

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, the law requires the public utility corporations of the District of Columbia to file with this body an annual report. All eight of the public utilities have filed with the Presiding Officer their annual reports for the year ending December 31, 1927. I ask unanimous consent that, in accordance with the usual practice, these reports may be printed as a Senate document.

There being no objection, the order was agreed to, and it was reduced to writing, as follows:

Ordered, That the annual reports of the following-named public utility companies in the District of Columbia for the year ending December 31, 1927, heretofore transmitted to the Senate, be printed as a Senate document: Capital Traction Co.; Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.;

Georgetown Barge, Dock, Elevator & Railway Co.; Potomac Electric Power Co.; Washington Gas Light Co.; Georgetown Gas Light Co.; Washington Railway & Electric Co.; and Washington Interurban Railroad Co.

STATISTICS RELATIVE TO UNEMPLOYMENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. Resolutions coming over from a preceding day are in order, and the Chair lays before the Senate a resolution, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 147) submitted by Mr. WAGNER February 15, 1928, as follows:

Whereas it is essential to the intelligent conduct of private and public business enterprises, to the proper timing for the inauguration of public works by the Federal Government, and the encouragement of similar undertakings by the States, to the formulation of sound economic policy, and it is prerequisite to the provision of relief against the hardship of unemployment and to the ultimate solution of the unemployment that accurate and all-inclusive statistics of employment and unemployment be had at frequent intervals; and

Whereas it is apparent that the United States is now suffering from a decided growth of unemployment, and no nation-wide statistics of unemployment in the United States are anywhere available:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Labor is hereby directed (1) to investigate and compute the extent of unemployment in the United States and make report thereon to the Senate, and together therewith to report the methods and devices whereby the investigation and computation shall have been made; (2) to investigate the method whereby frequent periodic report of the number of unemployed in the United States and permanent statistics thereof may hereafter be had and made available, and make report thereon to the Senate.

Mr. WAGNER. Very little need be said, Mr. President, for this resolution, because it speaks for itself in tones none of us can disregard. The need for the information which it requests from authoritative governmental sources is both obvious and urgent; it is reflected in the growing bread lines, in the larger number of men and women seeking work, in a constantly decreasing return for the worker, in a lowered standard of living for a large portion of our people, and in an economic loss that amounts to millions of dollars. For the present lack of such vital information I do not intend to criticize anyone, although the need has been evident for years.

It has been charged that some political scheme lurks behind this simple, humane resolution. Mr. President, if there were political advantage to be gained by an individual or a party through espousing the cause of the unemployed there would now be no need for this resolution. The problem of involuntary idleness would have been tackled long ago. This resolution speaks for millions who have no other means of self-expression. They have no great publicity organ proclaiming their plight from housetops or headlines. They can afford no expensive lobby in Washington. They can make no large campaign contributions to political parties. They ask no charity for all that; they ask what, I believe, the Government is obligated to give them—stimulation and encouragement so that they may earn their daily bread. This is not alone a humanitarian proposal; the solution of the problem of unemployment, if there is one, affects government and society as well as the individuals involved. It touches the very economic welfare of the Nation, and they are blind who attempt to look the other way when such a shadow casts its dark influence across the social and industrial order.

The situation we face now is not merely a temporary phenomenon. I believe it differs radically from the sort of unemployment which followed the armistice and the period of deflation. We are facing a change in industrial organization, and one which, in some respects, is as revolutionary as that which occurred in the beginning of the last century. Because it has come more slowly we are not so conscious of it; but it presages, in my opinion, a system that will bring new problems in its train. From farm and country there flows a steady stream of boys and girls to the city, seeking the advantages to be gained from urban life and searching for industrial or commercial employment. They no sooner reach the cities than they find small concerns becoming merged into larger and more economically operated units; they find one machine, the result of a recent invention, perhaps, accomplishing the task of a hundred workers. They are caught between the lack of opportunity on the farms at home and the Darwinian process of the survival of the fittest in the cities. Many are compelled to join the aimless floaters of society. Unless they can be given more permanent and profitable anchorage they may in time become a threat to civilized society. The evils we read about to-day on every front page at our breakfast table often spring from this very situation. If these floating fragments of our

population are to find mooring somewhere, we must provide them with some basis for security; and, with the exception of such fundamental things as religion and education, I know of no more stabilizing influence than the assurance of a steady job at a living if not what has come to be known as a "cultural wage."

The cityward drift of population, the increasing size of the industrial unit, and the corporate enterprises are making an ever-increasing proportion of our population depend upon wages as the sole means of gaining a livelihood. Wages, of course, depend upon employment; and the American workers know no greater fear than the fear of the loss of employment. If we are going to provide any basis of security for American life, we must at once begin to chart the phenomena of employment and unemployment and, in so far as it is possible, to subject them to our control. Exact information regarding the various phases of this problem is the essential need of American economic life. There can be no cure without recognition of the existence of the disease and a scientific diagnosis. Surely the genius which has created our highly complicated industrial system—one of the wonders of the world—can discover the remedy, or at least bring to bear some mitigating influence.

I note a tendency on the part of some public officials and economists to characterize as alarmists those who venture to focus attention on this unpleasant, unsolved problem; but it is one that must be faced. In a negative way President Coolidge recognized its importance in his last message to Congress, for he assigned the most important place in that message to this very question. In his very first paragraph he said:

Wages are at a very high range. Employment is plentiful.

I wish the President would inform the Congress where he obtained that optimistic information. Where did he learn that "wages are at a high range"? Who told him that "employment is plentiful"? At a recent press conference, the press informs us, he discussed prosperity in glowing terms, but he said not a word about unemployment. Surely he has not consulted with statistical or industrial experts in his Department of Labor, for he would not have secured this information there. The data with which they would have supplied him, had he asked for it or cared for it, would have been quite different.

Let us consider how "plentiful" employment really is. As far back as last June the Commissioner of Labor Statistics would have informed the President that employment and wages were at a lower level than in 1926. Had the President studied the figures for November—the month during which he was preparing his message—he would have found that 15 of every 100 men engaged in manufacturing in 1923 had been dropped from the pay rolls by November, 1927, and that situation prevailed throughout the whole United States.

And where did he get his information concerning "the high range of wages"? I find no footnotes in the message giving his authorities. Had he consulted his own experts, including the Bureau of Labor Statistics, they would have informed him that total wages paid had declined as steadily as the volume of employment.

He could have found all kinds of evidence justifying a conclusion quite contrary to that he gave to the Congress in reporting on the state of the Union. Labor Department reports, statistics of employment offices, the human documents of welfare and charitable organizations, railroad records, industrial and commercial data, stories of business failures and farm foreclosures—all these would have spelled out for him in sharp, poignant letters that this country was then and is now in the grip of an unemployment problem so acute that it can not be neglected. Not even a believer in the most laissez-faire sort of government can disregard facts which not only picture a panorama of human hardship but reflect a situation that menaces orderly society and government.

Much evidence of unemployment has been collected and set down for all who care to consult it. I shall but summarize it briefly:

(1) Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics show a decline of more than 15 per cent in the number employed in manufacturing establishments. This, of course, does not completely show the extent of unemployment, for many still on the pay roll are employed only part time and are therefore partially unemployed.

(2) A decline of 13 per cent in the forces employed by Class I railroads of the country and a drop in freight-car loadings, with the lessened business activity which that portends.

(3) A sharp increase in the ratio of applicants for work to the number of positions listed by employment agencies.

(4) Account must further be taken of two additional factors, namely, that there has been at least a 5 per cent increase of population between 1923 and 1928, thereby increasing con-

siderably the number seeking employment, and a net flow of population from farm to city of 3,100,000. Of this number, approximately 1,000,000 are in the wage-earning class.

The latest report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which is that for January, 1928, reveals that the barometer of factory employment continues to fall. Only a week ago the American Federation of Labor reported that one of every six of its members was out of work. Inasmuch as this applies largely to skilled labor, it seems obvious that the unskilled laborer is in an even more unfortunate position.

I can not say who furnished the President this misinformation about high wages and plentiful employment at a time when all the signs and all the evidence indicated that wages were dropping, and the ranks of the discontented were daily being recruited by new armies of the unemployed; but I do know that it was a grave responsibility to lull the Congress and the Nation into the belief that conditions were satisfactory. Its effect was to lead to congressional and national inaction, so that the crisis was permitted to become more acute. Three months, during which preliminary surveys might have been made, have slipped by; but to this day the administration has not yet decided whether to admit or deny the facts—whether to admit or deny the existence of an unemployment situation rivaling that of 1920. The administration, it would appear, is so blinded from gazing at the side of the shield which reflects prosperity that it can not bear to look upon the darker side. Conflicting reports come from the various departments charged with keeping us informed on this grave subject.

From Mr. Hoover's Department of Commerce, that watchtower of the administration that sees all, hears all, and knows all, the trumpets blare forth that all is well. Mr. Hoover's bright young men have scanned the horizon from California to Ohio, from the flooded areas to Vermont, all across the Nation, to discover not a single idle man. But if you adjust your receiver so as to tune in on the Department of Labor, you hear the admission:

"Yes; we have unemployment; why not admit it?"

Meanwhile, there come from private sources the usual mass of estimates, guesses, and surmises. Four million people, I am informed, is a conservative estimate of the number of those out of work. Four million people able and willing to work with no work for them to do.

If it is true that 4,000,000 men are out of work, it means that one of every ten of our wage earners is in idleness. We can only surmise how many are dependent upon that 4,000,000. Some say it represents a total population, men, women, and children, of 12,000,000 people, or more than the combined population of the first eight States taken in alphabetical order. If some great flood or calamity had removed such an army from productive enterprises, it would have stirred the Government and the Nation to relief measures commensurate with the problem. But because the unemployed have been with us so often in recent years, because the phenomenon is not heralded and accompanied by thunder and lightning and storm, we barely pause to pay it our respects. The Mississippi floods play no greater havoc with society than repeated epidemics of unemployment. Our social and industrial system, which is after all a delicate, tremulous thing, may yet stand or fall upon our solution of this basic, far-reaching, all-inclusive problem. With bread lines and idleness come diminution in purchasing power, a gradual slackening of business and industry and greater unemployment. Behind this economic curtain stalk misery, want, hunger, and discontent in all our cities.

Thus the vicious circle rotates as it always has during régimes of "normalcy" and so-called "economy." Twin sister to normalcy, it seems, is unemployment among a large portion of our people. The enormous loss of wealth from the present situation is almost beyond computation. Four million workers out of work who might be making an average of \$5 a day represents \$20,000,000 worth of earning and buying power. While our apostles of economy at Washington are doing away with drinking cups, paper clips, and pencils, and boasting of it in yearly reports, the flood gates of waste are open wide to permit the disappearance of \$20,000,000 worth of human power. Millions are going without work and without sufficient food in our cities, while the farmers complain of surplus crops and consequent low prices.

Unfortunately, this administration and that which preceded it seem not to have profited from experience. More than seven years ago this country was suffering from the postwar condition of unemployment. The President called a conference to devise measures of emergency relief and methods of permanent correction. Now, is not the time to discuss whether that conference was successful in its endeavors. But we can review its discussions and accomplishments as a warning that we should not repeat the experience.

I read in the press that that conference is to be revived, or at least that one of its committees is to be resuscitated. It is not my purpose to disparage the efforts of any group of our people that take it upon themselves to attempt a solution of unemployment. But I believe that the time has now come when action must be taken, when responsibility must be placed upon the shoulders of those who are by law charged with its assumption.

Read in the light of seven years' experience one simple but fundamental idea stands out as the topmost recommendation of the conference of 1921: The need of more and better information.

Every committee, every subcommittee, and the conference itself invariably returned to this as its central theme and reiterated the common disappointment over the total lack of statistical data. Little could be accomplished because there was no basis upon which to begin. The conclusion reached was that no progress in the solution of this question could be made until accurate and nation-wide statistics of employment and unemployment conditions were available. In the report of the conference, which I have here, I find ten consecutive pages devoted to a discussion of the need of adequate information on the general subject. I ask leave at this point to print in the RECORD as part of my remarks a few excerpts from that report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Fess in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONFERENCE ON UNEMPLOYMENT, 1921
GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE FOR AN EMERGENCY PROGRAM
(Page 19)

(1) * * * The conference finds that there are variously estimated from three and one-half to five and one-half millions unemployed, and there is a much greater number dependent upon them.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS
(Page 39)

* * * The first step in meeting the emergency of unemployment intelligently is to know its extent and character, yet this conference finds itself without the data even for an accurate estimate of the number out of work; nor is this the first occasion when public conferences have been embarrassed by a lack of such necessary facts.

OUTLINE OF PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT SYSTEM
(Page 77)

* * * For the purpose of bringing about coordination the Federal Government should (a) collect, compile, and make available statistical information.

EXCERPT FROM REPORT ON LONG-RANGE PLANNING OF PUBLIC WORKS
(Page 100)

(1) Fortify the United States Employment Service to enable it to obtain regular unemployment index figures, so that knowledge may be had when public work should be stimulated or retarded, based upon reliable and complete employment statistics.

REPORT ON PERMANENT MEASURES BY THE COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES,
OCTOBER 12, 1921
STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON UNEMPLOYMENT
(Page 142)

There should be established immediately within the Department of Labor a bureau for the purpose of gathering and disseminating monthly, or as much oftener as circumstances may require, statistical information upon the state of employment, these statistics to be gathered by zones by telephone, telegraph, and wireless and distributed as weather reports are now distributed, the bureau serving as an industrial barometer for the entire Nation.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND BUSINESS CYCLES—THE LONG VIEW
DATA NEEDED TO DIRECT AND CONTROL
(Page 160)

In order to guide such a policy, it is fundamental that an accurate statistical service be organized for determining the volume of production of stocks and consumption of commodities and the volume of construction in progress through the Nation and an accurate return of the actual and not theoretical unemployment.

In the introduction to the report on "BUSINESS CYCLES AND UNEMPLOYMENT"—1923:

"The general conclusion of the committee is that as the slumps are in the main due to the wastes, extravagance, speculation, inflation, over-expansion, and inefficiency in production, developed during the booms, the strategic point of attack, therefore, is the reduction of these evils,

mainly through the provision for such current economic information as will show the signs of danger and its more general understanding and use by producers, distributors, and banks, inducing more constructive and safer policies."

In the body of the recommendations made by the committee, which are signed by Owen D. Young as chairman, Clarence M. Woolley, Joseph H. DeFrees, Matthew Woll, Mary Van Kleeck, and Edward Eyre Hunt, it is stated:

"Of the various data needed, statistics of employment are highly important and are being collected with increasing efficiency by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. Conditions in business are invariably reflected in the volume of employment. Employment statistics that reflect the economic welfare of wage earners are information of the greatest social importance."

And again in connection with its suggestions for the solution of unemployment the committee reports:

"Certain inherent difficulties immediately become apparent. One of them, as the committee has already pointed out, is the lack of essential data to determine the amount of unemployment, not to mention the unemployment specifically due to the business cycle."

The closing paragraph of the committee's report is as follows:

"In conclusion the committee would reiterate its conviction that unless business men, banks, and others who are responsible for policies and practices in industry begin without delay to study and to act in order to meet the problem of unemployment and business cycles, solutions which may prove to be fundamentally unsound will be attempted without the benefit of practical experience. No problem before the business world to-day offers a more inspiring challenge to sound industrial leadership."

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, this conference, though summoned to discuss and ascertain the scope of unemployment, was compelled, for want of definite data, to report that the number of out of work was from three and a half to five and a half millions. I shall read but a single sentence from the report:

The first step in meeting the emergency of unemployment intelligently is to know its extent and character, yet this conference finds itself without the data even for an accurate estimate of the number out of work; nor is this the first occasion when public conferences have been embarrassed by lack of such necessary facts.

I do not think I am mistaken in noting a tone of caustic impatience in the criticism made by the men called to Washington to solve a problem which those in authority at the time had not even measured. It surely can be interpreted as a warning that steps should be taken and machinery established so that no similar body would be placed in the same predicament at some future date. Yet if another conference is called, it will labor under the same handicap which marked the other. For seven years that single and unanimous resolution setting forth the need of exact information has lain in some departmental pigeonhole gathering the dust of prosperity. For seven years this administration had that warning confronting it, but nothing has been done. Should another conference meet here, will it not be compelled to bemoan the unemployment crisis and then point out, in the words of its predecessor, that "the first step in meeting the emergency of unemployment intelligently is to know its extent and character"?

The purpose of my resolution is to carry out the 7-year-old suggestion—that is all. There have been seven years too many of delay. Let us do what we can to remedy the great mistake that has been made. Let us not continue stupidly to permit the plague of unemployment to find us unprepared to cope with it.

Speech making will not solve unemployment. If we are going to rely on the oratorical generalities that have characterized our sallies against unemployment in the past, we shall again fail as miserably as we have in the past. The Nation demands action by the responsible officials of the Government, and the first step that it wants them to take is to inform us how many are out of work, who are they, where are they, what work are they fitted to do, what jobs are available for them. These are questions which must be answered if we are to reduce unemployment to a minimum and give greater stability and security to American life.

We want them to erect a system that will enable us to foretell when we might expect lassitude or inactivity in private enterprise so that Government, Federal, State, and municipal, public utilities, and large private enterprise that can afford to plan in advance may step in and add impetus to the slackening wheels of industry and commerce. We want them to provide us with the information so that we can foretell when there will be undue demand upon our working forces so that the Government may step out and not add its competitive bid to the demands of private enterprise. We want information that will enable us to know the extent of displacement of workers

by reason of the advance of the technique in production and the further mechanization of industry.

The gathering of this information must be the first step. Where that will lead to no one can foretell. But that it is only a step and not the whole journey is plain. We may as well determine right here and now that we are going to wage relentless war until we abolish involuntary idleness as surely as we abolished involuntary servitude.

We need unemployment statistics for several additional reasons. In this country we have a great system of private and public machinery of relief which wants to be kept advised of the current unemployment situation and needs to have statistical material built up so that it can foretell in advance how to budget its resources, when to intensify collection, when to be less generous in its distribution, when it can afford to be liberal with the applicants for aid.

Unemployment statistics are essential to the intelligent conduct of business because unemployment curtails demand and consumption of commodities. The farmer and the business man are, therefore, entitled to know how the employment situation will affect the demand for their products and thus more intelligently to guide their production.

There have been remarks to the effect that we already have the information I am asking for. If we have any figures or data which throw light on the great question of unemployment, I would like to see them. I would like to ask those who claim to know if they can tell me how many men are out of work. Who are they? What types of workers are they? Where are they located—what sections of the country and what industries? What work can they do? Are they skilled or unskilled laborers? What are the prospects for finding them work? What attempt has been made to discover whether unemployed workers and work can be brought together? There are no answers to these questions.

Here is merely one example of the lack of definite information. On the same day there came from two governmental departments two diverse reports regarding unemployment. Dr. Julius Klein, director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce, publicly advised the Nation that there was no unemployment. He said:

What has happened to the many thousands who have admittedly been displaced in our factories by machinery? The answer is simple. They have gone into nonmanufacturing pursuits.

Secretary of Labor Davis said on the selfsame day:

We have unemployment in this country. Everyone knows it; why not admit it?

In the next sentence Secretary Davis seems to prove the point I am trying to call to the attention of the Senate:

As to the total number of people now unemployed, a number of estimates are going the rounds. My own guess is that these are somewhat exaggerated.

If there are definite figures and information, why these conflicting reports? Why must the Secretary of Labor, who ought to be at least the custodian of such reports, hazard a "guess" as to the number unemployed?

Even within the offices of one department there is confusion and controversy over this question. On February 17 the newspapers gave to the country the cheering news that the future of the unemployed was about to brighten. The information came from the United States Employment Service. The New York Times carried this headline: "Work increases in big industries." The Washington Star reported "A brighter outlook for future held by Federal employment agency." Yet, on the same day, the Bureau of Labor Statistics issued official reports indicating a further depression in manufacturing industries during the month of January.

In December the President said "employment was plentiful." In January two departments disagree on their conclusions and opinions. And in February a single department issues contradictory reports. There is no escape from the conclusion that accurate and precise information concerning employment and unemployment is not yet available.

I realize the difficulties incident to securing unemployment statistics. That is the reason I have confined my resolution to a fairly limited scope. It primarily requests the department to study the possible ways of obtaining data. It may, and I hope it will, lead to the consideration of questions of policy and improvements that will be debated on this floor. The hour is late for a country like the United States to be doing no more than brushing the surface of this problem, but surely we should make up for past delinquency.

"The old order changeth, giving way to the new." We are living in new days, new eras in fact. We are on the threshold

of a new industrial age, one which can be made a blessing to mankind despite temporary hardships. To-day's unemployment is the penalty we are paying for industrial advances made during and since the war. But it is incumbent on us to keep pace with this new development. So-called cyclical unemployment or idleness caused by ordinary depressions contain their own cure as business swings upward again. But to-day's unemployment problem is not of that simple understandable kind. For that reason we can not sit back and await the upward turn of the cycle.

Nations are not made great by their machinery but by their men. We have bestowed much attention on the improvement of our machinery. Our greater task is now to focus it on the perfection of our manhood.

Mr. President, I ask to have printed as a part of my remarks communications and extracts from documents bearing on this subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(From Employment in Selected Manufacturing Industries, December, 1927, United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics)

General indexes of employment and pay-roll totals in manufacturing industries, January, 1923, to December, 1927

[Monthly average, 1923=100]

Month	Employment				
	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
January.....	98.0	95.4	90.0	92.3	89.4
February.....	99.6	96.6	91.6	93.3	91.0
March.....	101.8	96.4	92.3	93.7	91.4
April.....	101.8	94.5	92.1	92.8	90.6
May.....	101.8	90.8	90.9	91.7	89.7
June.....	101.9	87.9	90.1	91.3	89.1
July.....	100.4	84.8	89.3	89.8	87.3
August.....	99.7	85.0	89.9	90.7	87.4
September.....	99.8	86.7	90.9	92.2	88.0
October.....	99.3	87.9	92.3	92.5	87.6
November.....	98.7	87.8	92.5	91.4	85.9
December.....	96.9	89.4	92.6	90.9	85.1
Average.....	100.0	90.3	91.2	91.9	88.5

Month	Pay-roll totals				
	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
January.....	91.8	94.5	90.0	93.9	90.9
February.....	95.2	99.4	95.1	97.9	96.4
March.....	100.3	99.0	96.6	99.1	97.7
April.....	101.3	96.9	94.2	97.2	96.6
May.....	104.8	92.4	94.4	95.6	95.6
June.....	104.7	87.0	91.7	95.5	93.3
July.....	99.9	80.8	89.6	91.2	89.1
August.....	99.3	83.5	91.4	94.6	91.0
September.....	100.0	86.0	90.4	95.1	90.1
October.....	102.3	88.5	96.2	98.6	91.2
November.....	101.0	87.6	96.2	95.4	87.8
December.....	98.9	91.7	97.3	95.6	89.3
Average.....	100.0	90.6	93.6	95.8	92.4

We sell good wood at current prices to help the unemployed.

Days' work given

1926:		
September.....	145	
October.....	173	
November.....	193	
December.....	276	
1927:		
January.....	400	
September.....	215	
October.....	306	
November.....	394	
December.....	1,032	
1928:		
January.....	2,325	

The need is plain. Our yard is overstocked. We must sell more to keep men at work. Prices are given on inclosed card.

WOOD YARD OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY,
516 West Twenty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.

FEBRUARY 21, 1928.

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WAGNER: I have not had the pleasure of writing you since your election to office, but your resolution proposing an investigation of the unemployment in the United States by the Labor Department impels me to bring to your attention some facts which I have been studying for some time past. I have also written to the governor

regarding this subject, as I have previously on other questions of public welfare.

I am a member of the "Action" Membership Corporation (Inc.), an organization formed to develop ways and means to "prevent the need of charity for those willing and able to work." This refers particularly to the inclination on the part of modern employers to eliminate the middle-aged and older men and women—drawing a line in many instances at the age of 30 to 35—which is really not middle age. Such procedure seems absolutely unethical and against the best laws of efficiency and production, and certainly something should be done to curtail this growing tendency, either through legislation or otherwise.

As an example of what I contend—that there is a concerted movement working against the older men and women, enforcing hardship upon them and no doubt a representative proportion of the unemployed at this very time, which will ultimately compel them, not because they would desire it but because no other way may be open, to seek public aid—I inclose an advertisement of a commercial employment agency which appeared only last Sunday, and which definitely states that the "present-day openings are for girls 20 to 26 years." I think such advertising should be discouraged by the press and in other channels of publicity in view, first, of the distressing unemployment situation, and, second, because such agencies function under a State license for public use. I feel, too, that the condition of unemployment does not go deeply enough into the question of the large number of women out of work and that the State and Federal Government should develop emergency measures to assist them as well as men.

I believe I have given you some of the pertinent facts gathered by myself, and that you will, Senator WAGNER, after Secretary Davis presents his survey, use your good offices in bringing about some solution of this serious problem.

With best wishes for your continued success, I am,

Cordially yours,

HENRIETTE S. MICHAEL,

52½ West One hundred and sixty-ninth Street, New York, N. Y.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany, February 4, 1928.

HON. JAMES A. HAMILTON,
Industrial Commissioner, 12½ East Twenty-eighth Street,
New York City.

DEAR COMMISSIONER: There have been brought to my attention reports of a serious condition of unemployment affecting the city and the State of New York at the present time. I understand that some of this is caused by the drifting into New York of men from other parts of the country where unemployment is also making itself felt. Whatever the cause, there is, I believe, considerable suffering as a result.

I should like to be fully informed on these conditions at the earliest possible moment. I would ask, therefore, that you have the division of employment of your department provide me at the earliest possible moment with a report of the present situation as reflected in the employment bureaus under your department and any other sources of information which you may have.

I would ask also that you make a rapid survey of conditions in New York City, utilizing the sources of information there available.

My purpose in asking for this is to determine whether the State of New York, with its large public-works program, can do anything toward the relief of this situation.

Very truly yours,

ALFRED E. SMITH.

PART I

STATE OF NEW YORK, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, ALBANY,
New York Office, No. 12½ East Twenty-eighth Street,
New York, February 14, 1928.

HON. ALFRED E. SMITH,
Executive Chamber, the Capitol,
Albany, N. Y.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: In response to your request for a report upon employment conditions in New York State and New York City, the following is submitted:

As you suggested, this report falls into two parts, the first containing a report of the situation as reflected by the continuous and current reports received regularly by the State department of labor, and the information based upon your request for "a rapid survey of conditions in New York City, utilizing the sources of information there available." In addition to this quick survey of New York City, I have also caused inquiries to be made, through departmental agencies, as to conditions elsewhere in the State and these results are separately summarized.

In the beginning, it may be pointed out that the evidence at hand indicates an extensive amount of unemployment, and that serious distress has been caused. No man can safely predict the future, but it is certainly true that if the present condition is not relieved distress will increase. If industrial conditions grow worse, growing unem-

ployment, with its attendants of want and illness, will become an inevitable result. One has to go back to 1921 to find an employment situation rivaling the present.

EMPLOYMENT IN NEW YORK STATE

No actual census of unemployment has ever been taken in New York State or any other State. In the absence of such a census it is not possible to state exactly how many employable persons are actually out of work at the present time. It is possible, however, to throw light on the matter by consideration of the known facts as to employment. These known facts fall under three headings, namely, factory employment, demand for and supply of labor at the public employment offices operated by this department, and returns as to the number and estimated cost plans for building work.

FACTORY EMPLOYMENT

From reports received regularly by the department of labor there has been evidence of declining employment in New York State. Monthly returns from a carefully chosen list of manufacturers, with approximately 500,000 employees, representative of a wide variety of industries and of localities, and including 35 to 40 per cent of all factory workers in the State, indicate that the year 1927 has been one of decreasing factory employment. Since the spring of 1926, the general level of factory employment has declined, and in December, 1927, the index of such employment was below that of December, 1921. In January, 1928, there was a further decrease of 2 per cent, bringing the index below that of January, 1921.

Over the nearly 15-year period in which these returns have been secured, it has been demonstrated that they constitute a sensitive and reliable index of factory employment. One evidence of their value is the wide publicity given them, not alone in daily papers but in trade and technical journals and in financial and commercial publications as well. Any serious decline in factory employment in New York State, where more than a million and a quarter workers are so engaged, necessarily affects employment in other lines of industry.

EMPLOYMENT IN BUILDING WORK

While the department of labor does not secure returns from building employers comparable to those received from manufacturers, it does receive returns which indicate markedly less building work in 1927 than in the preceding year. The returns received each month from the building departments of 23 cities of New York State as to building permits issued indicate a decrease in the estimated cost of such building work of 13 per cent in 1927, as compared with 1926.

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN NEW YORK CITY

To secure further and more detailed light on employment conditions in New York City, I called a conference in my office on February 10. At this conference there were present a committee of 12 persons, appointed by the Welfare Council of New York City; the president of the State Federation of Labor; the president of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City; the commissioner of the department of licenses of New York City; the superintendent of the municipal lodging house; and certain representatives of this department. Much fresh and detailed information was presented as to conditions in New York City, all of which was to the effect that unemployment in New York City is serious; that it has grown worse in recent months, and that no outlook for the better is discernible.

Those composing this committee and the specific organizations represented by them were as follows:

James A. Hamilton, industrial commissioner, State department of labor. Committee appointed by Welfare Council of New York City:

John Philip Bramer, Catholic Charities.

Bailey B. Burritt, general director Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

Elizabeth Dutcher, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.

Homer Folks, secretary State Charities Aid Association and chairman Welfare Council's Executive Council.

Capt. Burger Lindh, Salvation Army, and representing Lower East Side Community Council.

John T. Little, counsel of Seamen's Branch of the Legal Aid Society and chairman Welfare Council's section on seamen.

Solomon Lowenstein, executive director Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies and member Welfare Council's executive committee.

Louise C. Odencrantz, executive secretary Employment Center for the Handicapped and chairman Welfare Council's section on employment and vocational guidance.

Lawson Purdy, general director Charity Organization Society.

Frances Taussig, executive director Jewish Social Service Association and chairman Welfare Council's section on family service.

Jerome H. Bentley, activities secretary Young Men's Christian Association.

William Hodson, executive director Welfare Council.

John Halkett, president Building Trades Council of New York City.

John Ryan, president Central Trades and Labor Council.

John Sullivan, president New York State Federation of Labor.

William F. Quigley, commissioner department of licenses.

Jos. McShane, chief inspector department of licenses.

Edward E. McMahon, superintendent Municipal Lodging House.
Frederic G. Elton, bureau of rehabilitation, State department of education.

Frank Smith, Knights of Columbus.

New York State department of labor:

Eugene B. Patton, director bureau of statistics and information.

Nelle Swartz, director bureau of women in industry.

James Brady, director bureau of industrial relations.

Richard A. Flinn, chief division of employment.

Attached to this report is the memorandum prepared by the research bureau of the Welfare Council. This organization represents more than 1,000 private, voluntary, relief organizations in New York City. I can not better summarize their findings as to conditions in New York City than to quote here a part of the report of their research bureau. Thanks are due the Welfare Council for their interest and valuable assistance.

Present employment situation in New York City as reported by employment and welfare agencies:

- (1) State employment service.
- (2) Voluntary employment agencies.
- (3) Family service agencies.
- (4) Seamen.
- (5) Homeless men.

The New York State employment service, voluntary employment agencies, and welfare agencies were asked to compare employment conditions as of December, 1926, and December, 1927. Their reports have been summarized as follows:

1. STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The employment service of the New York State Department of Labor gave a detailed report for its offices in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, and the office for negroes in Harlem for the five-week period from November 29 to December 31, 1926, and the corresponding period in 1927. For adults these offices recorded registrations in December, 1926, of 7,205 and in December, 1927, of 5,529, a decrease of 1,674, or 23.2 per cent. The juvenile registrations, however, showed an increase from 2,411 in December, 1926, to 2,779 in December, 1927—368, or 15.3 per cent. The total of adult and juvenile registrations—9,614 in December, 1926, and 8,508, in December, 1927—represented a decrease of 1,306, or 13.6 per cent.

Placements showed a larger falling off than registrations, the figures for adults being 5,097 in December, 1926, as compared with 2,846 in December, 1927. Juvenile placements likewise were smaller—1,714 to 1,459 in the two months. The total for placements was 6,811 in December, 1926, and 4,305 in December, 1927, a falling off of 2,506, or 36.6 per cent.

The decline in registrants may be explained by the fact that in times of serious unemployment men flock into the office, and when they hear jobs are not available, turn away without registering. When there is a fair condition of the market with some jobs available a larger proportion of the men who call make formal registration. The largest percentage of registrants is obtained when many jobs are open, since the workmen become eager to move on to better positions. In addition, space in one of the offices is limited and when it becomes congested many turn away immediately, thus reducing still further the number registering.

2. VOLUNTARY EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Returns were received from 33 voluntary employment agencies in New York City, 28 dealing with adults and 5 with children, showing the number of applicants in December, 1926, and December, 1927, and the placements for these months. Returns from 30 were available for a comparison of employment at the end of 1926 and 1927.

The total number of applicants for the 30 agencies could not be ascertained from the returns because of different methods of record keeping. Several agencies stated that applications had fallen off as usual in periods of unemployment, for the workers had thought it useless to register. Twenty-two of the 30 agencies reported an increased number of applicants for December, 1927, as compared with December, 1926, and 8 reported a decrease. Nine of these 22 agencies had a decrease in the number of placements. Of the remaining 13, which recorded increases both in applications and placements, 10 showed a less proportional increase for placements than for applications and 3 a greater proportional increase.

Of the 8 reporting a decrease in the number of applicants, 5 showed likewise a decrease in the number of placements, in 4 instances a greater proportional decrease than for applications.

For the whole group of voluntary agencies reporting there were 4,909 placements in December, 1926, and 5,547 in December, 1927. A number of the agencies reported that increased placements indicated that the larger number of applicants permitted better selection, and consequently that a larger proportion of the vacancies notified were filled.

Comment was made in several instances that conditions were much more serious in January than in December; employers' orders were said to be decidedly inactive.

3. FAMILY-SERVICE AGENCIES

The family-service organizations were asked to report the total number of their active "major care" cases, the number in which unem-

ployment due to lack of work was a factor, the total number of cases receiving relief, and the total expenditure for relief. Fifteen returned reports. Of these, 13 had 21,380 active cases in December, 1926, as compared with 23,330 a year later—an increase of 9.1 per cent. Six agencies were able to give information as to the number of instances in which unemployment due to lack of work was considered a factor. They reported 1,155 instances in December, 1926, and 1,821 in December, 1927—an increase of 57.7 per cent. The increases reported by the individual agencies ranged from 36.9 per cent to 131.3 per cent. Thirteen agencies expended \$157,933.25 for relief in December, 1926, and in December, 1927, \$162,793.11. One agency had made a study of its own cases, because it was feeling "every evidence of the increase in unemployment." This showed for the year 1926 an increase of 11.7 per cent over 1927 in the number of families in which there was a problem of employment.

4. SEAMEN

The 10 seamen's agencies, with one exception, reported increased calls for service. Nine reported expenditures of \$1,431.82 for relief in December, 1926, as compared with \$2,317.41 in December, 1927, and five gave loans totaling \$909.83 in December, 1926, as compared with \$1,149.36 during last December. Some of the agencies that did not supply figures volunteered the information that many more seamen were applying than a year ago, twice as many according to one official.

5. HOMELESS MEN

Of four agencies dealing with homeless men, three showed an increase in the number of persons served—from 2,499 in December, 1926, to 2,922 in December, 1927. The fourth agency had a far greater number of applicants in December of 1927, but because of the scarcity of jobs the men stayed a longer time in the institution, thus reducing the total number of those accommodated.

The municipal lodging house in December, 1927, had 17,220 admissions as compared with 10,167 in December, 1926. The calendar year 1927 showed a larger number of admissions in every month than the corresponding month in either of the two preceding years.

A tabulation of the number of nonresident individuals (resident in New York less than one year) admitted to the municipal lodging house in New York City has been prepared by the research bureau of the welfare council and submitted to me to-day. For the calendar year 1927 there were 13,121 nonresidents admitted as against 7,198 in 1926, or an increase of 80 per cent.

The New York City department of licenses reported from representative private employment agencies under their supervision as follows:

Commercial agencies (supplying office workers): Ten per cent increase in the number of registered workers and 10 per cent decrease in the number of positions available.

Hotel agencies: Forty per cent decrease in number of jobs and 50 per cent increase in number of workers applying for jobs.

Domestic-servant agencies: Fewer calls for workers.

General agencies: More seekers for work than jobs available. Greater number of applicants than usual from outside of New York State.

The State Charities Aid Association has reported to me to-day a report that of 33 up-State counties reporting to them this week, 18 of them state that conditions are worse than usual at this time of year, with varying degrees of seriousness. It is most pronounced in industrial centers, due to smaller volume of employment in factories, and is most keenly felt by the unskilled, the drifters, the very young, and those with physical handicaps.

It should be pointed out that the conditions above described are not confined to New York City nor to New York State. Reports from other States, and from the United States as a whole, show a similar situation. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, with a nation-wide system of factory employment returns similar to that of New York State, likewise reports declining employment in 1927. The same is true of individual States.

A copy of the minutes of the conference held in my office on February 10 is herewith attached.

PART II

In addition to the statistical figures given in Part I, I have had collected by the agents of the department throughout the State the following information. It has been gathered hurriedly, but will be useful in so far as it gives a picture of conditions as they exist. The information was secured in every instance from reliable sources in each community:

BUFFALO

(Population, 538,016)

Unemployed in this city at the present time approximates 35,000 to 40,000 workers. Conditions in the chemical industry, metal and machine group, foundries, steel mills, and the building trades are way below normal for this time of year, while automotive operations and flour milling are in fairly good shape.

The pay-roll records, which comprise approximately one-third of the total number of factory workers in Buffalo, show a decline of 8 per cent in the number of employees since February, 1927, and a decline of 15 per cent since February, 1925.

Forty per cent of the leading building-trade workers are idle; approximately 8,000 unemployed. Retail conditions are not encouraging, although do not indicate a bad condition. It is, however, unsatisfactory, reflecting the result of unemployment.

Relief agencies' figures show that for the first time since 1921 the city mission has organized a bread line, feeding approximately 200 daily. The Erie County Lodging House for the first time since 1921 has opened an emergency annex. The Charity Organization Society, representing private social agencies, reports the heaviest drain on resources since 1921; 30 per cent of the applicants give unemployment as their reason for seeking aid.

The industrial-aid bureau reports the greatest unemployment since 1921.

The free State employment bureau reports 1,200 men applying for work on the three days of February 6, 7, and 8.

ROCHESTER

(Population, 316,786)

The chamber of commerce estimates 10,000 out of work in this city.

In the men's clothing industry, with Rochester the fourth largest market in the country, according to the union approximately 50 per cent of their members are out of work. The bricklayers', masons', and carpenters' unions report 50 per cent of their members out of work (11 per cent more than last year). Of the 22,000 organized trade unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor there has been a net decrease in employment of 5 per cent since January, 1927.

The retail stores report that with a pay roll of 7,000 at peak of employment at present time there is a decrease of 3 per cent.

For the independent building contractors, 68 per cent of those normally employed are employed at the present time.

One of the large instrument factories is endeavoring to meet its unemployment problem by part-time work. Another reports 150 applicants for work every day and no jobs.

The city manager states that he realizes that there is an acute unemployment problem and that he is endeavoring to stimulate public work to take care of a part of it.

The Social Welfare League expended for January, 1928, \$13,000, as compared to \$7,125 in January, 1927, and \$4,519 in January, 1926. The next largest disbursement was in February, 1922, which was \$8,769.

Out of 65 men applying for work to the State Employment Bureau, at least 50 per cent had been residents of Rochester for more than 16 years. Only 3 had been residents for less than a year, and the whole 65 have been out of work from two to four months.

The chief of police reports that not since 1922 has there been so many applicants for relief as within the last three months.

SYRACUSE

(Population, 182,003)

The various employers' associations estimate the unemployed as between 5,000 and 7,000, with practically one-third of them in the building trades.

The charitable organizations report that the number is greater than this; however, a number of the men applying to these organizations are men with families who are only working part time and are asking the charitable organizations to supplement their wages. Some firms distribute their work among all the workers rather than lay any off.

Seventeen employers were canvassed, representing the largest employers in Syracuse and employing mostly skilled help; they report fairly normal conditions. The unemployment exists among the building trades, casual laborers, and clerical help.

The tendency is also to take or keep on men under 50 years of age and lay off those over 50, so the over-age man is a Syracuse problem.

In the immediate territory of Syracuse, outside of Onondaga County, comes the report that conditions are worse than in Syracuse.

ALBION

(Population, 5,206)

This city has only three small manufacturing plants. One plant works full time; the two others are on half time. The chief of police reports that their police department is filled night after night with men applying for work. They are not human derelicts but factory workers out of employment who have gone to the rural communities in search of work.

BATAVIA

(Population, 15,628)

Six plants report a reduction in the number employed; one has reduced their working force 10 per cent, another 40 per cent, another has been closed for 12 weeks. The three remaining have cut their force by approximately 30 per cent.

EAST ROCHESTER

(Population, 5,883)

Employment is 50 per cent below normal in this village.

FAIRPORT

(Population, 4,411)

Of three plants canvassed one has reduced its force from 375 to 200, another is closed, and the third is normal.

GENEVA

(Population, 15,908)

It is estimated that 70 per cent of the unskilled and 10 per cent of the skilled workers are out of work.

MEDINA

(Population, 6,192)

Of four plants canvassed one is practically closed, two others are working 4 and 4½ days a week, and the fourth is normal.

UTICA

(Population, 101,604)

The secretary of the Industrial Employment Association, an association of employers, estimates 4,500 workers unemployed in this city as against 2,500 at this time last year and 6,500 in 1921. The unemployment exists primarily among the unskilled, except for the building trades.

Fifteen establishments were canvassed, all reporting normal conditions excepting one weaving mill, employing 1,551 workers on full time in 1921, now employs 1,501 on a three and one-half day week and in two weeks will be compelled to shut down completely; and two foundries report employment 30 per cent below normal for this time of year, while in the metal trades, outside of foundries, employment is about normal for this time of year.

In the clothing industry work in the factories is normal; work sent to the home for finishing, etc., has practically been discontinued.

The Associated Charities report 175 men applied for work in December, 1927; 199 in January, 1928; these figures do not include homeless men. That while heretofore the Associated Charities were asked only to supplement men's wages, now they are asked to assume responsibility for family.

ELMIRA

(Population, 48,359)

The free State employment bureau reports that 137 men and women applied for work on four days in February, 1928; for the same four days in February, 1927, 56 men and women applied. The great majority of the unemployed in Elmira are among the unskilled, excepting for railroad men. The trade-unions report 300 of their members out of work.

BINGHAMTON

(Population, 71,915)

The chamber of commerce estimates almost 3,000 men and 500 women out of work.

The department of charities reports that during January, 1928, they gave aid to over 200 families, which is larger than the usual number.

DUNKIRK

(Population, 19,912)

Of three of the largest employing firms canvassed, one company reports 2,000 out of employment; two others are operating with 75 per cent of their normal working force.

ALBANY DISTRICT

From a selected list of firms in Glens Falls, Middletown, Fort Edward, Johnstown, and Amsterdam, conditions are reported about normal for this time of year.

Hudson Falls reports one sulphite mill closed, and one business man reported that in his 32 years' experience he had not known so many men to be out of employment. Of two firms canvassed, Gloversville reports one firm running on part time and one firm employing from 10 to 15 per cent less than a year ago.

Plattsburg reports normal conditions, as does Malone. Of two large firms in Schenectady canvassed, one reports worse conditions than existed in 1921, and another firm which in October, 1927, employed 19,600 now employs 1,200 fewer, some of whom are on part time.

ALBANY

(Population, 117,820)

The State employment bureau reports a decrease in employment of 4 per cent since January, 1927.

Printing and paper products report an improvement in conditions in last few months. Textiles report some part-time work. Shirts and collars, tobacco, the chemical industry, and cement are normal. The metal and machinery industry reports a decrease in employment of about 15 per cent, while the railroad-equipment shops report a short-work week and a lay off of almost a week each month for each employee.

In the electrical-equipment industry, while practically all workers have been retained on the pay roll, a great many are experiencing short-time employment.

In the building trades about one-third are out of work.

NEWBURGH AND KINGSTON

(Population, 30,419 and 28,099)

Report that the employment of women in their vicinities is normal, but that their problem is the lack of work for heads of families.

POUGHKEEPSIE

(Population, 35,670)

Of two firms canvassed, one reports a pay roll of 900, the lowest figure since 1921. Another firm employing 637 workers is adopting a four-day week instead of laying anyone off.

Usually at this time of the year the plants are running to such capacity that they absorb any surplus labor, but not this year. It is estimated that between 200 and 300 are unemployed.

NEW YORK CITY

(Population, 5,873,356)

A serious unemployment condition exists for the colored population. The Urban League reports that while in January, 1927, they had 365 applicants for every 100 jobs, in January, 1928, there were 1,075 applicants for every 100 jobs.

The Bronx Y. M. C. A. reports in January, 1927, 568 applicants for every 100 jobs; in January, 1928, there were 776 applicants for every 100 jobs.

The Vocational Service for Juniors reports that in January, 1927, for minors between 14 and 18 years there were more than enough jobs to go around; in January, 1928, there were no jobs for at least one-third of the children.

The American Legion of Bronx County reports on an average of 100 veterans a week seeking employment; 90 per cent of these are married men with families.

Two large commercial employment agencies placing office and clerical help report 100 per cent increase in the number of applicants for jobs; that these represent no more high-type people than are usually looking for positions but many more so-called second-rate workers.

The Sixth Avenue agencies for hotel and restaurant workers report a stream of applicants in and out all day long, with no available jobs. A great many of them are from outside New York City. Men will take jobs at any wages.

The commissioner of licenses reports that in the commercial employment bureaus in this city the demand for workers is 10 per cent less than last winter, whereas the number seeking work is 10 per cent greater.

Of the skilled workers, the Employing Printers' Association reports more applicants for work in January, 1928, than any month during the last six years.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with a membership of 45,000, report 15,000 out of work, with the year 1927 a "very bad year."

The president of the State Federation of Labor reports an acute employment situation among their members, excepting the United Hat Workers, who are better off than they ever were.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES A. HAMILTON.

FACTS FOR WORKERS

(A monthly review, published by the Labor Bureau (Inc.), New York, February, 1928)

UNEMPLOYED 4,000,000

In view of the widespread complaints of unemployment, the Labor Bureau (Inc.) has attempted to estimate the number of those who have lost their jobs and been unable to find others since 1923. Unfortunately, no official figures are available on this subject, since in the United States there is no national system of employment exchanges where those looking for work register. In this respect we are behind most other industrial countries.

We do, however, have some indication of the number employed in various industries. The census gives us these total figures every few years; there is a national index of employment in factories; we have current information about the railways; we can estimate what has happened to coal mining and building employment on the basis of the changes in output. We also know something about the drift of population off the farms, and on this basis can estimate the number going to the city to look for work. Using this material, we have compiled the following table:

Estimated decrease in employment, 1923-1927

	Number employed		Approximate change (increase+) or decrease(-)
	1923	1927 (estimated)	
Manufacturing industries.....	8,778,156	7,768,068	-1,000,000
Railways (Class I).....	1,880,000	1,774,000	-100,000
Coal mines.....	862,536	787,150	-100,000
Farm workers moved to town.....			-1,000,000
Building workers.....	1,415,975	1,701,248	+300,000
Total.....	13,936,667	12,031,066	-1,900,000

It should be noted that while the number of those employed in building was larger in 1927 than in 1923, it had shrunk from the totals of 1925 and 1926.

These figures account for considerably over one-third of the gainfully occupied population, and indicate a net shrinkage in these occupations of 1,900,000, or over 13 per cent, in the past five years.

In order to know how many are actually jobless, however, we should have to know what has happened to the other occupations, such as forestry, fisheries, metal mining, professional pursuits, amusements, domestic service, and especially merchandising and selling—the distributive trades. We should also have to take account of the growth of population in this period (about 5 per cent).

Assuming that the number of persons of employable age has increased by a minimum of 3,000,000 in these years, due to population growth, we then have to guess whether 4,900,000 altogether can have found employment in the occupations not covered by the table.

The occupations in which growth might have been most expected in these years, with their possible increases, are:

	Possible increase
Professions.....	200,000
Amusements (movies, etc.).....	100,000
Public utilities.....	200,000
Automobile sales and service.....	750,000
Other distribution.....	500,000
Miscellaneous.....	100,000
Total.....	1,850,000

These, of course, are mere guesses, but they are extremely liberal estimates, more likely to be too large than too small. It must be remembered that we are speaking of the changes only since 1923, when almost every occupation was active.

The net result is an estimate of 3,000,000 added to the unemployment roll in the past five years, or about 8 per cent of the total gainfully occupied. This is in addition to those unemployed in 1923; we must remember that even in the most prosperous years there is a reservoir of those out of work. Let us say that in that year this reservoir was as low as 1,000,000. We then have 4,000,000 out of work at present, or nearly 10 per cent of the total.

If anything like this is the truth, the Nation is facing an extremely serious situation, which can not be concealed by any amount of stock-market prosperity or business profits. The relief and remedy of unemployment ought to become one of the leading issues of the day.

THE BOWERY MISSION AND YOUNG MEN'S HOME,
New York, February 23, 1928.

Hon. ROBERT F. WAGNER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WAGNER: Your telegram came to hand last night and I hasten to respond.

Probably the information we have to give you have already received through other sources, but what we can give you we give gladly. In presenting the following I desire to say that our experience in this matter is confined entirely to the Bowery and to unskilled workers, such as dishwashers, cleaners, assistant janitors, porter work, sandwich men, etc.

Last year ending September 1, 1927, we fed 96,393 men, or 264 a day. We are now feeding a trifle over 1,200 men a day and have been for the last 70 days, and even prior to that this extra feeding has been gradually mounting from way into last year. This increase is due not only to unemployment in the city, but we find we have to take care of men from New England and from the coal mines in Pennsylvania. Perhaps the majority of this increase of nine hundred-odd men a day is due to the numbers of men coming in the city from outside; and we have extra demands this year for lodging as well as for clothing.

It is easy to explain why men are coming from Pennsylvania mines, owing to the strike there, and New England, as you no doubt are aware, has been unsettled for two or three years past, and this has been accentuated by the recent floods in that portion of our country. Our information from New England leads us to believe that the depression there is due to several things, mainly the change in women's underclothing from cotton to silk, and from the removal of some of the cotton manufacturers to the South, and the shoe manufacturers to the West.

More remotely, in running back to 1926, we find that the purchasing power and the contributions to the support of this mission coming from the Middle West, the Mississippi Valley, and west of the river, has been due to the oversupply of wheat and the shortage of corn owing to the floods of August and September, 1926. Then, too, from the southland the oversupply of cotton and the floods in the Mississippi River. All these things, as you know, tend to depress the whole country, since people in these sections are unable to buy as in normal years, and through the ramification of business everyone feels more or less directly the lack of prosperity among these peoples.

Coming back to the present, this has been a very open winter. It has been a blessing in some ways, but has tended to add to the unemployment situation. For instance, a fall of snow of 3 or 4 inches means \$30,000 or \$40,000 to men of the Bowery working for the street clean-

ing department, and the men who sell rubber overshoes, winter underwear, overcoats, etc., and their business running down. Again, another situation which does not directly touch the Bowery, but yet we must feel its effects, is that the people in the metropolitan section—that is, New York City and the suburban towns—are changing from homes to apartment hotels, and as a result less servants are required, such as footmen, butlers, cooks, etc.

This covers the situation so far as it affects us here, and I have tried to give it in as brief a compass as possible; I hope it will be helpful.

I do not know whether you are interested in the prohibition question, but we find drinking reduced here very materially and the destitution existing is not by any means due to the evil of drink as in former years.

If there is anything that occurs to you of which you would like to ask I should be very glad to reply to any inquiries that you make if I can. With best wishes, believe me,

Yours very truly,

A. C. BAKER, *Secretary.*

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I desire to make a few observations upon the resolution now under consideration. First of all, I want to say that I am in favor of the adoption of the resolution. At the outset I call attention to an important omission, and will propose an amendment which I believe the Senator from New York will accept.

The real difficulty with an analysis of the unemployment problem is not in obtaining figures which show how many men or women are unemployed to-day who were employed a year or five years ago. The serious problem is that of part-time employment; information is wanting as to the extent of this. Therefore I am going to ask that an amendment be added to the resolution requiring also a report upon part-time employment, which the Senator from New York will undoubtedly accept.

In the State of Massachusetts, and I assume elsewhere, if one were to inquire from employers how many are unemployed, he would be given the number of people employed a year ago or five years ago, and those who are employed to-day. That information does not begin to disclose the real employment picture in this country. For several weeks, and in some industries for the past two years, large numbers of employees have been working but two, three, and four days per week. Therefore, to understand the extent of the unemployment problem, we should have information about part-time employment, the extent of it, and the general effect of it. That it is very extensive anybody who reflects upon the figures now available can appreciate, because the Department of Labor itself, in information which it has recently given out, based on the number of industries reporting to that bureau, showed that 67 per cent of all the industries in the country were working on part time. About two-thirds of all the industries in the country are to-day, according to information gathered by the Department of Labor, working part time. Without taking the time to develop further that point, I ask permission to insert in the Record at this point in my remarks a statement prepared by me from recent reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement and statistics are as follows:

Of 54 industries surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, embracing 12 groups of different industries, the employment for January, 1928, is 84.2 per cent compared with the employment for 1923, which is used as a 100 per cent basis. The report published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, entitled "Employment in selected manufacturing industries," from which the above information was obtained, further shows that in these industries that employment was 1.1 per cent lower in January, 1928, than December, 1927, and 2 per cent lower than November, 1927, and 5.8 per cent lower than January, 1927, and, of course, 15.8 per cent lower than 1923. The same document shows that reports from 9,203 establishments in January, 1928, indicate 21 per cent operating on a part-time schedule; that is, one in every five industries in the country working on part time.

It further indicates that only 31 per cent of this limited number of establishments has a normal, full force of employees, and that 67 per cent, more than two-thirds of all these industries, were operating with reduced forces. The report indicates that this same condition existed in December.

The same bulletin shows that the pay rolls from the 12 groups of industries reporting to the Bureau of Labor Statistics was 5.6 per cent lower in January, 1928, than in January, 1927. It also shows the payroll totals for January, 1928, was 14.2 per cent lower than in 1923.

The Labor Bureau (Inc.) publishes in New York a monthly review called "Facts for Workers," and in its February number estimates the number of unemployed in the latter part of 1927 to be 4,000,000.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, progress is being made, and I congratulate the country that it is at last possible, without being branded as unpatriotic, to discuss the question of whether prosperity exists in the country or not. Up to February 16 last I challenge any citizen to show an utterance by a leader in the present administration which indicated that there was in the country any other condition than that of unparalleled prosperity. But on February 16 one of the Cabinet at last allowed that this subject is one that may be discussed publicly. In the very opening sentence of his recent speech this Cabinet officer said, "We have unemployment in the country. Everyone knows it. Why not admit it?" Until those words were uttered, on February 16 of this year, no person connected with the present administration has publicly expressed in any speech dealing with economic conditions sentiments other than those of a claim of unparalleled prosperity. It is unnecessary to quote the words or the sentiments that have been repeatedly expressed in boastful terms by administration leaders here in Washington. But now, by implication, at least, a Cabinet officer protests the long silence.

Now, at last we can, without being considered unpatriotic, openly talk about unemployment, but we must not say that we do not still enjoy prosperity. Much of the press and most of the propagandists still declare that unemployment is a mere incident, that prosperity does exist, and that large dividends are being made, and prosperity is flowing through the country in large volume. Indeed, they even attempt to tell us that unemployment is due to the sudden and tremendous progress that has been made in the invention of machinery which operates so rapidly and so efficiently that, in consequence, hundreds of thousands of men and women are thrown out of employment. They would have us believe that a decrease of 5 per cent in one year and a decrease of 16 per cent in the last few years in the number of employees in the selected industries reported to the Department of Labor were due to newly invented machinery that has so speeded up the production of our industries that thousands of employees are no longer needed or required. That it has been a contributing cause we realize, but it is not a convincing explanation of the great reduction in production, in employment, and pay rolls.

Mr. President, I repeat, it is a matter of congratulation that at least we can now discuss unemployment, though I repeat we must be very careful not to question the existence of prosperity.

Mr. President, the unemployment condition in this country is not of recent weeks or recent months. It has existed and has been steadily increasing for from two to four years.

Mr. President, in February, 1927, I called the attention of the Senate to the unemployment conditions and the business depression that large groups of merchants and independent manufacturers were experiencing. A large number of statistics, quotations, and news articles were presented tending to show that which is admitted to-day to exist was then developing and could be foreseen. I requested at that time that an inquiry be made by a committee of the Senate during the recess of the Senate after March 4 into "the real economic conditions of the Nation." I ask that that resolution be printed with my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution is as follows:

Senate Resolution 378, Sixty-ninth Congress, second session
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
February 28, 1927.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

"Whereas it is constantly alleged that the country is enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity, and the large sums collected in taxes upon incomes and the increase in bank deposits are asserted to form a main evidence of this prosperity; and

"Whereas, on the other hand, it is repeatedly asserted that the agricultural industry on the whole is in a depressed and struggling condition, especially in the corn-producing and wheat-producing States of the West and in those States where cotton is produced, causing bank foreclosures, mortgage foreclosures, and in some cases bank failures; and

"Whereas in other parts of the country it is alleged that abnormal unemployment in industrial centers is existing, with the result of a great curtailment in the purchasing power of the American people, of itself sufficient to cause a dangerous lowering of normal industrial conditions; Therefore be it

"Resolved, That a committee of 15 be appointed to sit during the recess of Congress to make a constructive inquiry into the economic state of the Nation, in order that the country may be in a condition

to demand, and the Congress which next reconvenes to enact, such legislation as may be helpful to these basic industries. That a thorough investigation be made by the committee—

"First. As to the exact status of the general agricultural conditions in this country.

"Second. To what extent does unemployment exist, and to what extent has there been curtailment of production, in various industries, throughout the country, the causes of these conditions, and the remedies needed to restore prosperity to these industries.

"Third. To what extent do existing tariff laws, either by excessive duties or the want of sufficient tariff protection and the tax on corporation incomes, affect these industries and their employees.

"Fourth. To what extent is the prevalent consolidation and reconsolidation of industries and the issuing of watered stock increasing the cost of living and bringing about economic conditions that are unsound and insecure.

"Fifth. Whether and to what extent the growth of business consolidation in the mercantile life of the country is increasing or decreasing the cost of living, and whether this movement is leading toward a sound or unsound economic status for the future.

"Sixth. What measures will be helpful both in continuing the prosperity that may be found to exist in certain industries and in making that prosperity general by restoring good business conditions to the industries that have curtailed production and caused unemployment.

"The committee to have full authority to issue subpoenas, compel the production of documents necessary to such inquiry, and to organize an administrative force sufficient to carry on the aforesaid work.

"The expenses of said investigation shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers of the committee or subcommittee, signed by the chairman and approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, but shall not include any allowance for traveling or other incidental expenses of members of the committee."

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I wish to refer to some of the observations that I made when I submitted that resolution and asked that a committee be appointed to sit during the recess to study the unemployment and other economic problems, but on which resolution no action was taken. In fact, there was a chorus of protest from all sides against my suggestion that there was some question about the existence of real prosperity in the country.

I then pointed out the fact that a condition of unemployment was rapidly developing; that it was the duty of the Senate to spend some of the vacation period in studying the problem and to report to the Senate what should be done of a constructive nature; for after all the obtaining of figures is only a first step. What we must finally do is to find the underlying causes of unemployment and then seek if it is possible to provide a remedy.

Mr. President, in the resolutions presented by me I requested, first, that the Senate find the exact status of the general agricultural conditions in this country.

Second. To what extent does unemployment exist, and to what extent has there been curtailment of production, in the various industries throughout the country, the causes of these conditions, and the remedies needed to restore prosperity to these industries.

Third. To what extent do existing tariff laws, either by excessive duties or the want of sufficient tariff protection and the tax on corporation incomes, affect these industries and their employees.

Fourth. To what extent is the prevalent consolidation and reconsolidation of industries and the issuing of watered stock increasing the cost of living and bringing about economic conditions that are unsound and insecure.

Fifth. Whether and to what extent the growth of business consolidation in the mercantile life of the country is increasing or decreasing the cost of living, and whether this movement is leading toward a sound or unsound economic status for the future.

Sixth. What measures will be helpful both in continuing the prosperity that may be found to exist in certain industries and in making that prosperity general by restoring good business conditions to the industries that have curtailed production and caused unemployment.

I further requested at that time that an inquiry be made into the agencies furnishing information as to the extent of employment; whether the information so furnished was accurate and whether or not it was unprejudiced.

In my speech in the last session, Mr. President, I pointed out the fact that there was a certain kind of prosperity in this country, that big business was prosperous, but that the retail merchants and the independent manufacturers were passing through a period of business depression that threatened, if it

was not stopped, the complete annihilation of the small business man and the small manufacturer. I ask, Mr. President, that some of the quotations from my remarks on that occasion may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Tuesday, March 1, 1927]

SPEECH OF HON. DAVID I. WALSH, OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, there is one long-standing custom of the British Parliament that I have often thought we would do well to adopt, and for the adoption of which the need never seemed to me greater than it seems to-day.

From time to time the House of Commons, as every Senator is no doubt aware, sets apart a day for the consideration of "The state of the Nation." * * *

We are confronted in the closing hours of this short session with a situation that sorely needs such an unpartisan or bipartisan investigation as this custom of the British House of Commons provides. We are dispersing to our homes, and shall reassemble in December, the victims of confused and conflicting reports as to what the effect of the policies of the present administration upon the condition and prospects of the Nation really has been, and with no safe means of deciding whether all is going as well as we have a right to expect, or what if any legislative action should be taken to curb, stimulate, or direct administrative activities during the time that must elapse before the verdict of the voters themselves can be obtained.

On the one hand administration spokesmen and the administration press are broadcasting the assertion that our Nation is enjoying, and has every prospect of continuing to enjoy, a prosperity that has never been approached before in the history of this or any other people. Republican propagandists the country over are repeating an estimate said to be based on the income-tax returns, that the combined incomes of the people of the United States in the year just ended reached the amazing total of \$95,000,000,000, or an average of about \$2,000 for every head of a family and unmarried adult of either sex. And the growth of bank deposits, the quick absorption of vast issues of corporation stocks and bonds, and the immense sums that are seeking investment in foreign industries, are cited as unquestionable proofs of the reality, and auguries of the permanence, of this new age of gold. But when we turn from the fountains of partisan propaganda to more responsible and unbiased sources, to those whose knowledge of actual conditions comes from personal contact and individual experiences, we hear an undertone of dissent and complaint so widespread, and affecting so many of our fundamental industries, and so large a proportion of those who depend on them for the necessities and comforts of life, that one is led to suspect that it may be the rapidly growing and dangerous concentration, rather than the healthful diffusion, of the national wealth that is evidenced by the widely advertised financial achievements of the year just elapsed.

Is not the prosperity which is so widely heralded the prosperity of monopoly? Is it not a prosperity that is discouraging individual initiative, driving the producer, the independent manufacturer, the small business man to the wall, and confining the accumulation of wealth to the monopolies of industry and finance? And is not this monopoly, which is the distinctive product of our age, aiming to extend and perpetuate itself through a skillfully devised plan to seek and maintain control over both the legislative and the administrative departments of our Government?

These startling situations in the West and South are represented as local and passing setbacks due to surplus production, under climatic conditions which can not be foreseen or controlled, but which may be offset by a comparatively small and inexpensive amount of governmental interference. But the farm census reports tell a different story. They show that in every State in the Union there has been in the last few years a steady shrinkage in farm population, notwithstanding the fact that in our farm population there are 400,000 more births than deaths, year by year.

They show also that in every State there has been a marked shrinkage in the value of farm implements and machinery, and in all except one or two a shrinkage in the value of the farms themselves, while in all without exception the amount of farm mortgages and the ratio of the mortgage total to the total of farm values has risen, in the latter case from an average ratio of about 25 per cent to around 45 per cent, and in one State to 78 per cent, of the still shrinking farm values. Are not these statistics indications of something more than a passing and sporadic interruption of a general prosperity? Depression of farm values and real estate generally, which is the condition throughout the country, has never before been an indication of the existence of real or lasting prosperity.

And what of the hundreds of thousands who are abandoning the farms to seek a living elsewhere? Are they finding a place in our manufacturing industries?

If so, these should show a corresponding increase in the number of their employees, beyond the increase corresponding to the country's annual growth in population. But is this really the case? We have in Massachusetts a department of labor and industries which, in my opinion, is unexcelled in painstaking thoroughness by any similar body in the United States; and this department, in a bulletin issued February 21 of the present year, shows the decrease of employment in certain industries, by a comparison between the average number of wage earners employed during the five years between 1919 and 1923 and those employed in January of 1927, to be as follows:

In all industries taken together there were 15.6 per cent fewer persons employed than the average five years before.

In the boot and shoe industry there were 38.8 per cent fewer employees; in the cotton and textile goods industry there were 25.3 per cent fewer employees; in the textile machinery and parts industry there were 37.8 per cent fewer employees; in the woolen and worsted goods industry there was a reduction of 13 per cent. That the depression is continuing is indicated by the fact that statistics for all industries combined show that the number employed January, 1927, was 5 per cent smaller than in January, 1926. That the shrinkage in employment which has been noted in the 39 leading industries for several months still continues is shown by the fact that from December 15 to January 15 the aggregate weekly earnings shrank also to the extent of \$139,047; while the average weekly earnings per person employed dropped from \$24.37 to \$23.96—both figures, by the way, quite noticeably under the before-mentioned "average yearly income of \$2,000." And lest the citizens of Massachusetts should be unduly depressed by this showing, the bulletin goes on to state that for the United States as a whole, for the corresponding period, the percentage of decrease in numbers employed and in aggregate weekly earnings were both twice as great as in Massachusetts.

The pay-roll statistics from the July number of the United States Labor Review show that employment in the manufacturing industries fell off 18.7 per cent from 1920 to 1925. This report reveals also that the pay roll of the industries show a shrinkage of 32.3 per cent from 1920 to 1925. The comparison of the 1920 pay-roll index for the month of May, with the 1926 pay roll from the same month, shows a six-year shrinkage of more than 40 per cent.

I shall not dwell upon the well-known decadence of the cotton-textile industry in New England, where within the past few years nearly 40 factories have gone out of business altogether and several more have been absorbed by more successful competitors. So far as the cotton mills are concerned this situation may have passed beyond the reach of remedial legislation, since it is alleged to be due in the main to economic conditions for which no political organization and no party administration can justly be blamed. But it is a condition causing such great unemployment and loss of invested capital that the Government ought to determine the facts and find a remedy if one is to be found.

With the woolen mills the case is somewhat different. If the opinion of the Carded Woolen Manufacturers' Association is to be accepted, their main handicap lies in the 31-cent tariff on clothing wools, a tax which varies, they assert, from 40 to 100 per cent on their raw material, or from one to two and one-half times the total labor cost of converting the wool into cloth in the mills. To expect permanent prosperity under such a tariff burden is, of course, absurd.

I hold in my hand a list of the woolen mills which were forced out of business since the Fordney-McCumber tariff law of September, 1922. They are 39 in number. Eleven of them were located in New York State, 7 in Connecticut, 10 in Rhode Island, 9 in Massachusetts, and 1 each in Pennsylvania and Vermont.

But the main point that I wish to emphasize here is that the present and continuing shrinkage in employment and in weekly earnings is not confined to the textile industries, nor is it peculiar to New England alone. To a greater or lesser degree it pertains to all, or nearly all, our leading industries, and extends to nearly every State. The Federal Reserve Bulletin for January states that the output of the shoe industry in 1926 was 7½ per cent less than in 1923, and that in the same period the wage earnings in the Massachusetts shoe industry fell from \$83,000,000 to \$65,000,000, or nearly 24 per cent.

The automobile business has been referred to as an evidence of prosperity. As a matter of fact, it is one of the key industries that is shrinking. Statistics show the production of automobiles and trucks throughout the country in January, 1927, to be 249,506, which, compared with their production in January, 1926, of 388,220, is a reduction of 68,714, or 21.5 per cent. The reduction in the month of December, 1926, compared with December, 1925, was 45.6 per cent. But possibly this is not a fair comparison, as December is the month of readjustment of business in the automobile trade.

Statistics further show employment in the automobile industry in December, 1926, was 19.8 per cent under the 1925 level. The number employed in Detroit for the week ending February 2, 1927, was 48,019 less than that employed for the corresponding week in 1926.

In the financial papers generally are to be found, here and there, sanguine utterances (not editorial, however) like these: "With money plentiful and labor employed at the best wages ever enjoyed, and business picking up in the agricultural districts, everything seems to point

to a good business year," and "In view of the huge accumulations of wealth that have piled up in the face of liberal public expenditures, the new year offers the promise of solid progress."

But when they descend to details the "promise of progress" quickly fades, and the outlook becomes even less reassuring than that of the Reserve Bulletin. Nation's Business for December, 1926, justifies the caution that "1927, at least for the first half, may see some shading off" by asking what else is to be expected after a year that witnessed "the record number of bank failures, the second largest number of business failures, and the fourth largest total of failure loss," and when "in the last five years 100,000 concerns have suspended, owing their creditors over \$3,000,000,000." And the December number of Guaranty Survey of New York notes, as other financial summaries do also, "curtailment in the key industries of building and automobiles, diminishing export trade balances, the outflow of capital, and increasing competition at home and abroad."

What conclusions are we to draw from this conflict between glittering generalities and sombre pictures of details? The usual barometers of Wall Street are all "set fair." Money is plentiful, savings deposits increasing, bank reserves ample, no feverish speculation in evidence, a complete absence of the conditions that indicate the approach of financial stringency or panics on 'change. But how are we to harmonize this halcyon outlook with the depressing situation that prevails in so many branches of industry and pervades all sections of the Republic? Who has any definite knowledge of the present extent of unemployment, or can even guess what has become of the hundreds of thousands of men and women who have forsaken agriculture, and who, instead of finding vacant places waiting for them in our leading manufacturing industries, have been joined by other thousands who have lost their jobs by the curtailment of these very industries; a curtailment, it appears, that even yet is not at an end?

For most of us, Mr. President, the long recess that we hope is so soon to begin will mean in the main a release from the pressure of legislative duties, and in this off year a relief also from the burdens of a political campaign. It will not, however, release us from the duty of caring to the extent of our opportunities for the welfare of the constituents who have honored us with their confidence and who continue our salaries whether Congress is in session or not.

Mr. President, I want to put the Senate on record to find out if its conception of the responsibility of its Members to the country justifies them in retiring from the National Capitol on the 4th day of March and absenting themselves for nine long months—with continuing salaries and four paid clerks—from any inquiry, study, or preparation of a plan of action, in view of the steady and constant decline in so many industries which furnish the sustenance of life to our working people, the deplorable state of the farmers of the West, the depression of the cotton industry in the South, the laying off of wage earners throughout the country, and the large number of bank suspensions and business failures throughout the United States. Are we to be content that all is well with our people and that economic conditions are sound because financial statements show the dominance of high finance in such striking contrast to actual conditions as they affect the individual wage earner, the agriculturist, and the cotton planter? The Congress can not avoid its responsibility by charging the President with failure to call an extra session and pointing to the fact that it has no power of its own initiative under the Constitution to call such a session. I know that extra sessions of Congress are burdensome, causing much personal inconvenience to Senators and Representatives, but I do not hesitate to declare that in my opinion the great legislative business of this country, with its many complex problems, can not be studied, debated, and settled in the same period of time that sufficed more than 100 years ago for the performance of the work of Congress, to wit, less than 70 days. The American people are not without the power to fix responsibility in such a case as this. The party in control of the Government must answer for its omissions as well as for its commissions.

Under these conditions, is not this the very least the Congress is bound to do, in justice to so many constituents to whom this fresh disappointment has come to intensify the pangs of hope so long deferred—can we in common humanity refuse to take every means in our power to provide the next Congress with all accessible evidence necessary to enable the discovery of a genuine remedy, the drafting of a measure that will be both constitutional and workable, the adoption of the best policy that human faculties can devise for the rescue of our basic industry from a depression which all our other industries can not fail to share?

Resolution

Whereas it is constantly alleged that the country is enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity and the large sums collected in taxes upon incomes and the increase in bank deposits are asserted to form a main evidence of this prosperity; and

Whereas, on the other hand, it is repeatedly asserted that the agricultural industry on the whole is in a depressed and struggling condition, especially in the corn-producing and wheat-producing States of the West

and in those States where cotton is produced, causing bank foreclosures, mortgage foreclosures, and in some cases bank failures; and

Whereas in other parts of the country it is alleged that abnormal unemployment in industrial centers is existing, with the result of a great curtailment in the purchasing power of the American people, of itself sufficient to cause a dangerous lowering of normal industrial conditions: Be it

Resolved, That a committee of 15 be appointed to sit during the recess of Congress to make a constructive inquiry into the economic state of the Nation, in order that the country may be in a condition to demand, and the Congress which next reconvenes to enact, such legislation as may be helpful to these basic industries. That a thorough investigation be made by the committee:

First. As to the exact status of the general agricultural conditions in this country.

Second. To what extent does unemployment exist, and to what extent has there been curtailment of production in various industries throughout the country; the causes of these conditions, and the remedies needed to restore prosperity to these industries.

Third. To what extent do existing tariff laws, either by excessive duties or the want of sufficient tariff protection, and the tax on corporation incomes affect these industries and their employees.

Fourth. To what extent is the prevalent consolidation and reconsolidation of industries and the issuing of watered stock increasing the cost of living and bringing about economic conditions that are unsound and insecure.

Fifth. Whether and to what extent the growth of business consolidation in the mercantile life of the country is increasing or decreasing the cost of living, and whether this movement is leading toward a sound or unsound economic status for the future.

Sixth. What measures will be helpful both in continuing the prosperity that may be found to exist in certain industries and in making that prosperity general by restoring good business conditions to the industries that have curtailed production and caused unemployment.

The committee to have full authority to issue subpoenas, compel the production of documents necessary to such inquiry, and to organize an administrative force sufficient to carry on the aforesaid work.

The expenses of said investigation shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers of the committee or subcommittee, signed by the chairman and approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, but shall not include any allowance for traveling or other incidental expenses of members of the committee.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, no action was taken upon the resolution that was the basis of my speech of March last.

I do not entertain the hope that any constructive or helpful action will now be taken, in view of what appears to be the present policy of the Congress, namely, to delegate investigations of public affairs or of matters that relate to the economic welfare of the people of the United States to bureaus rather than to committees of Congress.

Surely, if the death of 40 defenders of the country through a submarine accident at sea is not of sufficient importance for a senatorial investigation, or an inquiry into whether the public rights are sufficiently guarded in the right of the public to enjoy without exploitation that which the Almighty for all time discharges in a never-ending flow from the bowels of the earth—water power—is not sufficiently important a subject for the Senate to investigate—I have little hope of an investigation by the Senate into a consideration of what steps may be taken to relieve the poverty, suffering, and want among the millions of unemployed at the present time in the United States.

Mr. President, to return to another aspect of this question, let me submit this observation: The United States Government itself is one of the worst offenders, and is itself chargeable with setting an example of unemployment. I have received to-day two telegrams in reply to my requests for information upon unemployment conditions in the Government. One is from the commandant of the navy yard at Boston. He informs me that on March 1, 1923, there were 2,089 employees as compared with the maximum number of employees on June 7, 1927, of 3,098. Therefore at this Government plant the percentage of unemployment is 33½ per cent, more than nearly double what the average of unemployment is throughout the country.

A telegram in reply to my inquiry from the Watertown Arsenal is as follows: Number of full-time employees, working March 1, 1923, 196. The maximum number of employees employed during the last two years, 275. Thus, in this Government plant, unemployment is 30 per cent under normal conditions.

Time has not permitted an inquiry into the conditions at other Government plants, but I have reason to believe that the

same conditions prevail in the navy yards at Brooklyn, Norfolk, and elsewhere.

I respectfully suggest that if the Government has any real interest in this problem, any sincere interest in obtaining or assisting in bringing about relief, that it undertake at once the necessary measures for the promotion of those public improvements which it must do in the near future, and which can be better done during the present period of business depression than later.

Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, recently called attention to the importance of the Government undertaking new work, and pointed out certain activities that could be undertaken forthwith. I ask that an editorial commenting on that statement be annexed to my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article referred to is as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Thursday, March 1]

TO END UNEMPLOYMENT

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a speech at Detroit, recommended, as an immediate remedy for the unemployment situation, the passage of legislation providing for the expenditure of Government funds in public improvements.

"If Congress would pass the flood control bill, the Army housing, naval construction, and general housing legislation, and make the appropriations for this work available at once, our present problem of unemployment would be quickly solved," said Green.

Federal expenditures, he added, could be supplemented by States and municipalities which are planning public improvements.

Green's position is sound. New York State has taken the lead in arranging for the immediate beginning of a large construction program. Several resolutions pending in Congress seek to commit the Federal Government to the same policy.

Labor Secretary Davis remarked in a recent speech that we have an unemployment problem and that there is no use blinking at the fact. He said, as have others who have studied the situation, that this condition exists despite the fact that the country as a whole is generally prosperous.

Time will be required to adjust the situation brought about by the displacement of men by machines and other economic factors which have created the existing unusual situation. The final solution may be shorter hours for labor, or some other process.

Meantime men now idle must be put to work if the country is to maintain its purchasing power and if the ranks of those now out of work are not to be increased.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I join in the support of the resolution of the Senator from New York and compliment him for calling public attention at this time to this very serious problem. I desire to remind the Senate and the administration that it is a long-delayed and neglected problem. Anyone who will take the trouble to review the documents and information which I had printed in the *Record* in February, 1927, will learn that a condition of unemployment has been going on from two to four years and becoming progressively worse.

Mr. President, I agree with the importance of obtaining the information which this resolution calls for, but I respectfully submit that our responsibility does not end with merely obtaining statistics and general information as to the real unemployment conditions in the country to-day. Some effort of a constructive nature should be undertaken to find out what are the underlying causes of the present unemployment conditions. I was about to say present depressed business conditions, but that appears to be an offensive phrase and should not be used for fear lest one might be charged with brazen effrontery for attempting to question the loudly heralded claim of general prosperity. These prosperity boasters, however, have now conceded us the right to talk and discuss unemployment.

Now, Mr. President, I desire to make a formal motion to amend the resolution. I understand the Senator from New York is willing to accept the amendments. I move first, on page 1, line 3, after the word "unemployment," to insert "and part-time employment," so as to read:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Labor is hereby directed (1) to investigate and compute the extent of unemployment and part-time employment in the United States—

And so forth.

I further move, on page 2, after the word "unemployed," in the fourth line, to insert the words "and part-time employed."

I ask that those amendments may be adopted.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I have no objection to the amendments of the Senator from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 1, line 3, after the word "unemployment," it is proposed to insert the words "and part-time employment."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to. The Secretary will state the next amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 4, after the word "unemployed," it is proposed to insert the words "and part-time employed."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, by a printed error or through an inadvertence there was left out of the preamble of the resolution the word "problem." I therefore move to amend the preamble by adding after the word "unemployment" in the eighth line the word "problem."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the preamble will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In line 8 of the preamble, after the word "unemployment," it is proposed to insert the word "problem," so as to read:

Whereas it is essential to the intelligent conduct of private and public business enterprises, to the proper timing for the inauguration of public works by the Federal Government and the encouragement of similar undertaking by the States, to the formulation of sound economic policy, and it is prerequisite to the provision of relief against the hardship of unemployment and to the ultimate solution of the unemployment problem that accurate and all inclusive statistics of employment and unemployment be had at frequent intervals; and

The amendment to the preamble was agreed to.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, my colleague [Mr. WAGNER] has called attention to a matter which in my judgment is the most important one we could possibly consider in this Chamber. The matter of unemployment is very pressing.

As evidence of it, I hold in my hand a bulletin called the "A. I. C. P." This is the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in New York City. I want the Senate to know who the officers of this association are. They will be familiar to the gentlemen across the aisle.

The president of this organization is Cornelius N. Bliss, sometime treasurer of the National Republican Committee. The vice presidents are Percy R. Pyne, R. Fulton Cutting, Dwight W. Morrow, Albert G. Milbank, and others. Those are familiar names.

I find that the entire issue of the bulletin of this month is given up to the subject of unemployment. I beg you to listen to this one paragraph from this bulletin:

Business was bad in 1921, worse in 1914, and so was the unemployment situation; yet to-day's unemployment exceeds in volume that of 1921, and approaches uncomfortably near the high point of 1914. In New York State there were fewer people employed in the months of November, December, and January than for the corresponding period of any year as far back as 1914.

On the inside of this bulletin is depicted the path of unemployment. I find here the empty bread box—

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. COPELAND. I do.

Mr. BORAH. From what is the Senator reading?

Mr. COPELAND. I am reading from the bulletin of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, a great organization in the city of New York presided over by Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss.

Mr. BORAH. I understood the document to say that the unemployment at present was almost as bad as it was in 1914.

Mr. COPELAND. Correct; that is what it says. I thank the Senator from Idaho for giving emphasis to this statement, which I desire to repeat:

To-day's unemployment exceeds in volume that of 1921 and approaches uncomfortably near the high point of 1914.

Mr. JONES and Mr. HEFLIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield first to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. JONES. Does the Senator approve that statement?

Mr. COPELAND. That there is unemployment—that fewer people are employed now than at any time since 1914?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. COPELAND. Do I believe it?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. COPELAND. I do.

Mr. JONES. The Senator approves that statement?

Mr. COPELAND. Yes.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator suffer an interruption?

Mr. COPELAND. Of course.

Mr. KING. I think the unemployment now is very much greater than it was in 1914. I disagree with the statement if it implies that the unemployment in 1914 was as great as it is now.

Of course, the object of the interrogation of my able friend from Idaho is very obvious. There happened to be a Democratic President then, and, of course, he seeks to draw the conclusion that there was as much unemployment under a Democratic President as there is under a Republican President. I just wish to state that I dissent from the statement if it is subject to the deduction that in 1914 the unemployment was as great as it is now.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COPELAND. I do.

Mr. HEFLIN. In 1914 the World War broke out—

Mr. SMOOT. And gave employment in the United States. It was a godsend for the Democratic administration.

Mr. HEFLIN. And our trade with all the countries of the earth was disturbed. The people over there, instead of spending their money for American goods, were looking out for buying weapons with which to defend themselves, and the world was thrown into the greatest war that it has ever known. That revolution, the World War, may have disturbed this situation, so that there were as many unemployed at that time as we find now in the midst of this Republican administration when you are crying "prosperity" from every housetop.

Mr. COPELAND. If the Senators on the other side of the aisle take any comfort from a condition of unemployment, due to the conditions of the war in 1914 as contrasted with the conditions to-day, which are due, I suppose, to a worse war—the maladministration of government under the Republicans for the last several years—they are welcome to it.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I was not seeking comfort. I was seeking information.

Mr. COPELAND. I trust the Senator has the information.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SIMMONS. I suggest to the Senator from New York that it might be said that at least in 1914 we were not conducting a presidential campaign on only one slogan, "prosperity."

Mr. COPELAND. That is right.

Mr. BORAH. I resent the assertion that there is only one slogan, "prosperity." There is another slogan.

Mr. HEFLIN. What is the other one?

Mr. COPELAND. What does the Senator from Idaho mean by that? May I ask the Senator from Idaho just what he means?

Mr. BORAH. I say, there is another slogan.

Mr. HEFLIN. What is it?

Mr. BORAH. That is the constitutional amendment.

Mr. COPELAND. Does the Senator from Idaho believe that the eighteenth amendment is responsible for the unemployment of to-day?

Mr. BORAH. No; I do not think it is responsible for unemployment. I think, if there is unemployment, that the eighteenth amendment has greatly diminished it. No one has benefited by it more than labor.

Mr. COPELAND. Then, if it were not for the eighteenth amendment, I suppose we are to infer that the condition of unemployment now would be terrible beyond words.

I want to call attention, however, to this document, because to me it is a very interesting presentation of a serious problem. It is very important that this matter should be considered.

We have pictured here the path of unemployment—the empty bread box, the fireless stove, the closed savings-bank account, the pawned household goods, the homeless family.

Besides I have here a copy of the Chicago Tribune for the 28th of February, making exactly the same appeal through the United Charities of that city. It speaks about the tremendous amount of unemployment in Chicago, as to which the Illinois Free Employment Bureau shows that for every 100

jobs available 283 men were registered. And so in every city in this country we find these conditions of unemployment. What are we going to do about it?

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. BROOKHART. The Senator seems to be greatly exercised over the unemployment in the country, and I think justly so, so far as that is concerned. Since 1920, however, a million and a half farmers have lost their property or their homes during this period of "prosperity"; and a recent bulletin of the Department of Commerce shows that 177,000 corporations, 42 per cent of all the corporations in the United States, have operated at a loss since 1922, at an enormous loss of about \$2,000,000,000 a year.

I do not think there is any doubt about the condition in this country; but I should like to know what the Senator is going to do to remedy this situation. I have looked among the Democratic candidates for President for some relief for this farm situation, but I can not find any. I have a book over here showing the position of the distinguished Governor of New York on that proposition. It would bankrupt all the farmers if it is correctly stated.

Let us see what we are going to do in an affirmative way. It is easy enough to criticize; but what are we going to do to remedy this situation?

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, disregarding his political reference, I am perfectly clear that the Senator from Iowa has at the back of his head what is really the solution of this problem. I do not believe there can be employment in the cities unless there is prosperity upon the farms, so that the buyers of the country can buy.

You think of my city as a great financial city; you do not think of it as a manufacturing city; and yet New York City, in bulk and value, manufactures more goods than Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, and Boston combined. We do not use those products. They are sold upon the farm, and unless the farmer can buy we can not sell. Unquestionably a large amount of the unemployment in the cities is due to the fact that the farmers of the country are in distress, and can not buy.

Mr. BROOKHART. New York also has some \$400,000,000 of Iowa's savings now down there in the gambling game on the stock exchange.

Mr. SMOOT. They can get their money any day they want it.

Mr. BROOKHART. They can get it; but the bank examiners would not let them lend it to a farmer at home, because it would be put on the slow list, and it is not subject to rediscount in the Federal reserve bank; and then the bank is under suspicion. Nearly 400 banks out in my State have been closed by that sort of thing.

Mr. COPELAND. The Senator from Iowa a moment ago made reference to the Democratic candidates for the Presidency. Now he refers to a Republican problem. Why does not he correct the situation down in Wall Street? All those people are Republicans.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, no; they are not.

Mr. BROOKHART. When it comes to a financial proposition, even in the United States Senate, I do not think there is any difference between a Republican and a Democrat.

Mr. COPELAND. We ought not at this time to be splitting hairs about whether this is a Democratic issue or a Republican issue, or whether it is a Democratic problem or a Republican problem. It is here; we are facing the situation, and there must be found a way to solve the problem.

My colleague [Mr. WAGNER] has called for certain information, and I am sure the Senate will be glad to pass the resolution in order that we may get it; but there are things that ought to be done to solve the problem. The Senator from Iowa suggested farm relief. That is one needed reform.

We can do something in the way of these public buildings; and I want to challenge the Senators on the other side to release more of the money that we have already decided is to be our program in the way of construction. Let us have more of it made available.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. COPELAND. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say that every single dollar that is allowed under the law will be released; but we can not build in the winter. We are waiting now to start the building program in the District of Columbia, as I stated to the Senator the other day. Just as soon as the spring opens we are going to begin to

erect here two of the largest buildings on our program. The law limits the amount of money that can be spent each year. There is \$200,000,000 appropriated for buildings outside the District of Columbia, and the law says that \$20,000,000, or one-tenth of the amount, can be spent each year. It is a program for 10 years, and every dollar of that money will be released.

Mr. COPELAND. Who made the law?

Mr. SMOOT. Congress made it.

Mr. COPELAND. They can change it at any time, can they not?

Mr. SMOOT. They can.

Mr. COPELAND. Making more money available?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; they can, but they have not done it.

Mr. BORAH. They can make more money available, and levy more taxes, more appropriations and heavier taxes, and create a vicious circle, the old John Law system, which will break any country on God's earth.

Mr. SMOOT. From what we have heard here to-day we would think there had been poverty in this country for the last 10 years and that nobody was making enough to live on, whereas the business during that time has never been equaled in the history of the world.

I am not going to get into an argument with the Senator as to whether or not we are having hard times now. I will say to the Senator that during the winter there is always unemployment, whether there is a Republican administration or a Democratic administration; but at no time during this administration have there been as many unemployed as there were during the Democratic administration.

Mr. COPELAND. Does the Senator believe that in the springtime all unemployment will disappear?

Mr. SMOOT. I know that a great part of it will; and I know that the great cities of Pittsburgh, Detroit, New York, and so on, are about to begin the construction of mammoth buildings, and they are only waiting for the springtime. I know that when the spring opens a lot of these unemployed men will be employed.

Mr. COPELAND. Does the Senator seriously believe that building construction stops in the wintertime?

Mr. SMOOT. I certainly do, to a great extent.

Mr. COPELAND. Has the Senator witnessed the skyscraper building—

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, when a building program is started, it is never completely finished, but the great bulk of the building program every year begins with the opening of spring. It always does and always will. Building can be done cheaper in the spring and in the summer and in the fall than in winter, and every man who builds in winter does so because of the absolute necessity of doing so at the time. The Senator must have had experience enough to know that. When a building is erected in the winter it is never as good as if it is put up in the spring or in the summer. It costs more to erect it, as everybody knows.

Mr. COPELAND. The Senator must be deaf and blind if he believes that the unemployment of the present moment is like the unemployment of last March, or a year ago last March. There is more unemployment in this country to-day than there has been, I will say for the comfort of the Senator from Idaho, since 1914.

Mr. SMOOT. I would not say so, going as far back as 1914. There is more unemployment in the United States to-day than there has been for the last few years. The mass production that is going on, the perfection of machinery in order that products may be made cheaper and faster, and without hand labor, but by machinery, those things have all had their effect, and necessarily so. I hope to see the time come, and come soon, when all of that will be taken care of, as every great step in the manufacture of goods in the world has been taken care of. It takes time to catch up whenever there is an advanced step in the manufacture of goods by improved machinery.

Mr. COPELAND. How does it happen that just now we happen to get all the cumulative, gathered-up effects of this new machinery, and so on?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, it happens because this is a presidential year. That is why there is all this talk, and it would not be indulged in if it were not a presidential year.

Mr. COPELAND. Does that mean that the Republicans have taken their men off the pay rolls?

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Massachusetts has been talking about the cotton industry and the woolen industry in Massachusetts. Can not Senators see what has brought about that condition as far as cotton is concerned? The women in the country are wearing silk to-day. We used to manufacture hundreds of millions of dozens of cotton hose for women. We manufacture scarcely any in the United States to-day. New England was the great center of that class of manufacture. As far as

dresses are concerned, the women used to wear cotton, and it used to take 10 or 12 yards of cotton cloth for a dress. To-day the dresses are silk, and it takes only about three and a half yards of silk to make a dress. You can not find a silk center in the United States that is not busy. Why is that? It is because of the change in styles. Those things have to be taken into consideration when we begin to talk about conditions existing in this country.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. COPELAND. Just one moment. The Senator from Utah a moment ago referred to the law. I should think he would have the law changed so that the women would not wear these silk dresses.

Mr. BORAH. The women vote now.

Mr. SMOOT. The law as to the erection of buildings is quite a different thing from any attempt to regulate the styles that women shall wear.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, the Senator has said this talk is going on because this is a presidential year.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. HEFLIN. Is it a fact that these people are unemployed? The Senator from New York wants to know. The statistics show that they were unemployed in the spring, that they were unemployed in the summer, and that they are still unemployed. The statistics of the Federation of Labor show that. It can not be that it is just a political proposition. It is a fact.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, nobody in this Chamber in any way, shape, or form misunderstands the situation. We all know what it is, and we know it will continue as long as the Senate is in session this year. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. HEFLIN. Is it a fact that we have an army of unemployed in this country?

Mr. SMOOT. There is quite an army of unemployed, and always will be.

Mr. COPELAND. Is it larger than it has been?

Mr. SMOOT. Perhaps it is larger now than it was this time last year, but not as large as under Democratic administration.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, what does the Senator mean when he says it will continue as long as the Senate is in session?

Mr. SMOOT. I said as long as it is in session this year.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, the Senator suggests that after the winter is over this building program will be commenced. What is going to become of these patriotic American men and women during the Republican administration until the winter is over?

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly they will never receive relief if there is a Democratic administration, I assure you of that, either in the summer, the spring, or the winter.

Mr. HEFLIN. We are going to try that next time.

Mr. SMOOT. I doubt it very much.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York permit me to correct a statement of the Senator from Utah?

Mr. COPELAND. I yield.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. The Senator from Utah has just stated that every silk mill in the country is thriving and prosperous. I call his attention to the fact that the silk industry is reducing also, for on pages 3 to 5 of the December bulletin of the Department of Labor, he will find on page 5 a statement that there was a decrease of 1.1 per cent in the number of silk workers in December, 1927, compared with December, 1926.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes, Mr. President; 1.1 per cent. Perhaps that is just temporary—for a month. It may be because of some change in style that would make that amount of difference.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. If I were permitted, I could show that the same situation has been true as to other periods. The Senator has referred to a decrease of 10, 15, up to 40 per cent, in the cotton industries, and says that those engaged in the silk industry are all working. The figures do not confirm that statement.

Mr. SMOOT. I will say to the Senator that if he would go down in the South, where the cotton industry is active, he would find that production was 40 per cent less than it had been. I asked why the cotton industry in Massachusetts was less prosperous than it has been. But I want to say that it is natural, perfectly natural, for the cotton industry to go where the cotton is raised, and it will be so in the future more than it has been in the past.

Mr. COPELAND. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah has called attention to the law in reference to erecting these buildings. We have adopted a program, have we not? We have determined upon a certain course that we are going to follow. Why should we not go forward with that now more rapidly

since we have committed ourselves to it? That is the inquiry I have to make.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, something was said just a moment ago about the conditions now as compared with those of 1914. I would like to call some facts to the attention of the Senate, and ask if any conditions like them existed in 1914.

The report of the Federal Reserve Board for 1926 was made public last June. It showed that in the United States 956 bank suspensions took place, those banks having deposits of approximately \$275,000,000. That was 344 more bank failures than occurred during 1925, and the deposits of the suspended banks were \$100,000,000 greater.

This is four times the number of bank failures that occurred from the year 1917 to 1920, inclusive, and is 298 more bank failures in that one year than occurred during the entire eight years of the Democratic administration.

Those who think that conditions now are better than they were in 1914 should refer to the reports of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, setting forth that 21 out of every 1,000 farms in the whole United States in the year ending March 15, 1926, were sold under foreclosure of mortgage, or for delinquent taxes—1 out of every 47 farms in the United States. Did that condition prevail in 1914?

Mr. BAYARD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me a moment?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. BAYARD. I would suggest that the figures last year as to bankruptcy proceedings throughout the entire country show a little over 49,000 and odd bankruptcies, and one in every eight of those bankrupts was a farmer.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, in further connection with the statement of the Senator from Delaware—

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. TYDINGS. Not just at this moment, because I have only five minutes left.

Mr. CURTIS. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have only two minutes, and I hope the Senator will not take the floor away from me, because these are only facts, and I want to clear up the 1914 situation.

Mr. SMOOT. It will take more than two minutes for the Senator to answer that.

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. CURTIS. I merely wanted to suggest to the friends of the pending resolution, to which there is no objection, that at 2 o'clock the unfinished business will come before the Senate. If the resolution shall not be disposed of before 2 o'clock, it will go to the calendar. The Senator who introduced the resolution was so informed when he began the debate. If Senators want to consume all the time in the morning hour talking on matters that do not pertain to the resolution, they may go ahead, but at 2 o'clock the resolution will go to the calendar instead of to a vote.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I will take only one moment. The report of R. G. Dun for the first six months of 1926 shows 12,292 commercial failures, with liabilities of \$281,000,000. That is an increase over the immediately preceding years. I have not heard and do not expect to hear anybody challenge the statement that there are more foreclosures of farm mortgages now than during the last Democratic administrations. I do not expect to hear anyone challenge the statement that there were more bankruptcies in one year of the Coolidge administration than happened during three whole years of the Democratic administration, and this while prosperity is the cry. So, when we select 1914 and compare it with 1927, we should not leave out some of the most vivid colors in looking at the canvas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

The resolution was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the preamble as modified.

The preamble as modified was agreed to.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I wanted to tell, for the benefit of the Senator from Utah, one of Bob Taylor's stories which illustrates Republican prosperity.

Old Uncle Rufus had gone out possum hunting, and he had not gone very far before he got a big, fat possum.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have heard this before, if the Senator will excuse me.

Mr. HEFLIN. Oh, there is no use to waste any more time on the Senator from Utah; he has had all this Republican prosperity possum that he can stand.

Uncle Rufus decided he would go back and cook that possum. So he dressed the possum, put him in the oven, set him on a rosy bed of coals, and he said: "Now, while that possum is cooking I am going to lie down here and go to sleep, and I'll dream about eating him, and then I will wake up and eat him, and that is what I call enjoyin' him twice."

While Uncle Rufus was sound asleep old Sam passed along by the house and he smelt that possum cooking. He slipped in, lifted the lid off the oven, and sat down and partook of the possum until he had eaten it all; old Uncle Rufus lying there sound asleep. Old Sam took a little of the grease and smeared it on Uncle Rufus's mustache and on his fingers and he took the bones and piled them down beside his head, and walked out of the house. Then he threw a rock on top of the house, and it rolled down and woke Uncle Rufus up. He got up, took the lid off the oven, and the possum was gone. He said, "Who eat dat possum? Surely I didn't eat him." He said, "Here's grease on my mustache, here's grease on my fingers, and here is de bones piled down beside my head. Maybe I did eat dat possum while I was asleep, but if I did eat him, he weighs lighter on my constitution and has less influence with me than any possum I ever eat in all my lifetime." [Laughter.]

That is the way with this Republican prosperity; it has less influence on the masses of the people than any prosperity they ever had. [Laughter.]

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, a few moments ago I challenged an assertion of the Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot] in reference to his allegation of prosperity in the silk industry. Since that time I have been examining a document which I have in my hand, published by the Department of Labor, entitled "Employment in selected manufacturing industries." I find on page 22 a table which sets forth the establishments working full and part time and employing full and part working forces in December, 1927. Under the heading "Silk goods," industries engaged in the manufacture of silk goods, I find the percentage of establishments operating full normal forces was 39, and of silk manufacturing establishments reporting part normal forces was 61 per cent. Therefore in December last 61 per cent of the silk industries of the country reporting to the Department of Labor were working on part time.

MUSCLE SHOALS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 46) providing for the completion of Dam No. 2 and the steam plant at nitrate plant No. 2 in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals for the manufacture and distribution of fertilizer, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON].

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, when the Senate had under consideration last week the unfinished business and I had the floor, I was giving illustrations to the Senate tending to show and, I think, to demonstrate, that the supplying of electricity to the people is most economically accomplished by municipal or public ownership of the generating and distributing systems of electric current. On several occasions I have taken pains to call attention to the fact that to get the most economical distribution of generation and distribution of electricity would require a monopoly.

Scientific ingenuity has demonstrated that in the electrical world, where electricity must be distributed and must be used at the time it is generated, and on account of the peculiar and various uses to which it is put, it naturally follows that to get the most economical results we must have monopoly. In other words, in a locality supplied from water power with electricity used in the homes of a city or a municipality, it appears that there are always times in the day when there is what is known as the peak load, and there comes another time in the day when a comparatively small amount of electricity is used; but in order to supply a municipality there must be enough current to supply it at its peak use.

In the city of Washington, for instance, the peak comes in the morning when the employees of the Government are being transported by the street cars from their homes to their various offices, and it comes again in the evening when everybody is turning on the electric lights. If we had cheap enough electricity in the city of Washington so that the cooking in the homes of this beautiful city could be done in that way, there would come a peak at breakfast time, another one at midday, and another one at dinner time late in the afternoon. But the electricity that is not used when the peak is not on disap-

pears, does no one any good, and is of no value whatever. It is just the same as though it was not generated.

Then, with water power there come seasonal peaks, times in the year when the river is very high and we are not able to get as much electricity from the water power as when it is only moderately high. Too much water backs up against the water wheels and destroys some of the generating capacity of the system. Then the dry season comes along and the river is low and the power generated from the river is very much decreased. If we could tie up a system on one watershed with the system on another watershed where high water in one place corresponds with perhaps low water in the other place, we would be able by the touching of a button to equalize the two systems.

If we could get some one whose uses of electricity were confined to the hours between midnight and daylight, we would be able to use electricity that otherwise goes to waste, and hence we could make such customers an extremely low rate, making it very cheap for them, but at the same time it would be all profit to the owner of the system.

The high-peak load in Boston will not be the same as the high-peak load in Washington, and it will not be the same at Chicago as in Cincinnati or at Cleveland. So if we could couple up the larger generating systems as between the various cities, we could equalize the flow of electricity so as to obviate that great loss. When we do that we cheapen electric current for every user, no matter what hour in the day or what season in the year it may be used. Therefore it is important, in order to get the cheapest electricity possible, in order to get the most economical use of it, that cities be coupled up, that they be united, that rivers be united, that different sections of the country be connected by wires so that what is now going to waste in one section would be made beneficial use of in another section.

The computations of experts some years ago before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry showed that if Dam No. 2, as I remember it—and I think Dam No. 3 was also in the calculation—were hooked up with the Coosa River in the same State—they had taken measurements of both streams, so they knew accurately what they were talking about—we would be able to increase electricity generated by the two systems by 125,000 horsepower. That is only two rivers. If we could couple up those rivers and carry it on to its logical conclusion, we would be able, if we could cover a large portion of the country, to have an almost universal flow of electricity everywhere. In other words, the load factor would go from 45 per cent up to perhaps 90 per cent.

That means that we are making something out of nothing in reality. The profit that we make, although the rate we charge may be extremely low, is almost 100 per cent. When that is divided up among all the customers and they all get the benefit of it we would have a model system. Whether it is privately owned or Government owned, or partially one and partially the other, we are coming logically to that kind of a method of treating electricity in its generation and in its distribution. It is logical. It is as natural as the rising and setting of the sun.

But my contention has always been if that monopoly were turned over to private parties for private gain, the people would not get the benefit of reduced rates. In other words, when electricity becomes common in every home, as it will, and as necessary as water to drink, if we are subjected to the will and wish of a giant monopoly that reaches from the Canadian boundary to the Gulf of Mexico and from ocean to ocean, we will in reality, to a great degree, be slaves. We will be subject to the will and the wish, the whim and the caprice of a monopoly, the magnitude of which stretches the imagination to comprehend.

Therefore I have been contending that the property at Muscle Shoals, owned by the Government, built by expenditures from the Treasury of the United States, built as a war proposition, should be owned by the Government, and that in time of peace the current there generated for the happiness and the benefit of mankind should be distributed within transmission distance of Muscle Shoals and given to the people, and that each place would then stand out as a beacon light on the great horizon of the entire country. Each place would be a milestone marking the right price, the fair price for electricity, and would be used as a model by the experts and the engineers whenever an application was made either for an increase or a decrease of electric-light rates, and this kind of competition, while doing no injury to the Government, would redound to the benefit of the people, not only within transmission, but as a signal to all the people as to what was possible when electricity was properly generated and properly distributed.

When I closed my remarks the other day I had come to a point where I was about to give a further illustration of what may be accomplished if we go at this matter aright. I had

finished calling attention to quite a number of municipalities, and I had given illustrations showing the great reduction in rates that had come about by municipal ownership and municipal management. Those, however, were all individual instances. Important as they are, much good as they have accomplished, the results they have achieved do not represent the end of the good that may be accomplished. I had come to the point where I wanted to give the Senate an illustration of a giant monopoly which is owned and operated by governmental authority, a monopoly for the generation and distribution of electric current covering the entire Province of Ontario, Canada, where all the cities, all the towns, all the villages, and all the farm organizations are coupled into one grand system. I want to do that to-day.

First, let me tell the Senate briefly just what the method of procedure is in Ontario, Canada. About 20 years ago some business men in Canada, manufacturers mostly, and also representatives of municipalities, met and decided to organize certain municipalities into one great consolidated concern, a sort of partnership, as it were, designed to furnish electricity at cost to the people. After two or three years of agitation they succeeded in having passed through the provincial legislature of Ontario a law which provided for a system of generation and distribution of electricity at actual cost to the consumer. The law provided that there should first be organized a kind of wholesale corporation, to be known as the hydroelectric commission. Its business was to generate electricity and to carry it over transmission lines to the various municipalities which wanted to go into the partnership. The law provided for the buying of existing generating plants or the construction of new ones; for the issuing of bonds by the wholesale corporation, and the distribution of current to various municipalities. The law further provided that any municipality which desired to secure electricity from the commission must itself provide for its local distribution, attend to the collection of the charges and fees incident to the operation of the local system; so that each municipality was to be independent in itself, with some exceptions as to regulations, but all together should utilize the one wholesale system of generation and distribution. The municipalities did not generate their electricity; they bought it from the wholesale corporation.

The law provided that each municipality should pay in proportion to the amount of electricity which it consumed; that it should make a sufficient charge to the consumer to provide for the bonds which were issued locally; that upkeep should be provided for; that depreciation should be looked after; and that an amortization fee should be set aside every year which within 30 years should pay off the investment. Similar provisions attached to the parent corporation. So there was the system.

The originators were quite a number of years getting it started. There was a great contest, there was a bitter struggle, as there has been in this country wherever Government operation has been proposed. Up to that time nobody had thought about the farmer. The originators of this scheme were an aggregation of business men; they were not socialists; they were not Bolsheviks; but they were the leading business men in the various communities, fought, of course, by other leading business men. But the corporation was formed with the idea of saving money for the domestic consumer and for the manufacturer in order that electricity might be supplied the consumer without paying any profit to middlemen or to private investors. The enterprise, however, had to pay all expenses; it had to stand on its own legs. Two or three years after the enterprise was started the various municipalities that had stayed out commenced to tumble over each other to get in, when they saw the benefit of the system; and when they did get in they increased the benefits, of course, that much more.

Then the farmer came in. He saw what the man in the town was getting. He sometimes visited the city homes and saw the housewife in the little home; in the laboring man's home, perhaps, cooking his meals by electricity; he saw that the bath water and the dishwater were heated by electricity; he saw the toaster, the electric fan, and all the other electric devices for the home being used at a fractional part of the cost that had theretofore been paid. The farmer wanted a similar advantage; he asked for some of it; and everybody conceded that he ought to have something of that kind. So a few years after the enterprise was started and in operation the provincial legislature of Ontario, Canada, passed a law that let the farmer in.

I want Senators particularly to pay attention to this branch of the discussion, because it is in regard to the subject of which I am now speaking that misrepresentation has been spread all over the United States; in fact, all over the civilized world.

I want Senators to listen to me while I tell them what the law provided for the farmer. To begin with, the law was amended and provision was made so that farmers could organize as could municipalities, could elect their officers, issue bonds, install systems, and buy electricity just as the municipalities did of the wholesale corporation, the hydroelectric commission. The law provided that the farmer could come in on the same basis as did everybody else, with one exception that I am going presently to note. The farmers had to issue their bonds in order to get the money to put in their distributing systems; they had to provide for the necessary officials and employees to present the bills and collect them every month and to make the proper returns. They had to provide in the rates charged for an amortization fund, just as in the case of the municipalities, so that the indebtedness would be paid off in 30 years. They had to provide for the payment of interest and for their share of the interest on the bonds of the wholesale company. They also had to provide for depreciation and upkeep.

It was realized that one of the things that stood in the way of farmer organizations securing this cheap electricity was the increased cost of the distributing lines as compared to the distributing systems of the municipalities. In the city or village there would be two dozen or more houses, perhaps, in one block, but out in the country for a distance of several miles, perhaps, there would be not more than four or five farmers who would take the electricity. So the cost of the construction of the distributing system was something which had to be contended with. The legislature, desirous, and very properly so I think, of giving to the rural population in the Province of Ontario the same facilities which the people of the cities and villages enjoyed, made a provision in the law that as to every rural organization so constituted under the law one-half of the cost of the transmission lines should be borne by general taxation. That is the only place in the entire system, either rural or municipal, where the taxpayers of Canada have ever paid one cent toward this great system that now gives them such universal service.

Because of that law, jealous and interested parties sent into Canada, mostly by representatives of the Electric Trust in the United States, have come back and said, "Oh, yes; they have cheap rates up there, but a part of the cost is paid from provincial taxation."

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. BROOKHART. Does the Senator have in mind the proportion of the whole amount that is paid by the Government?

Mr. NORRIS. One-half. I thought I said that.

Mr. BROOKHART. How much would it have increased the rate to the farmers if they had had to pay it all?

Mr. NORRIS. It would have very materially increased the cost to the farmers; even to pay half of it materially increased the cost. The farmer there does not get under existing law the same rate or as cheap a rate as does the man in the city or village, and I presume never will get it until the amortization fund which he is providing pays off the investment. When that shall have happened I do not see any reason why his rates should not be as cheap as those of anybody else.

Mr. BROOKHART. The rates to the farmer, however, are only about 2 cents a kilowatt-hour. Is not that so?

Mr. NORRIS. Sometimes that is so. The rates vary, as do the rates in municipalities.

Mr. BROOKHART. They depend on the length of the transmission lines?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes. They depend upon the expense that is necessary in the construction of the lines and in installing the service.

Mr. BROOKHART. I made a slight investigation some time ago and I found that Canadian farmers were paying about 2 cents, while on the American side our farmers, although getting their light from the same source of power, were paying about 9 cents.

Mr. NORRIS. I made many investigations concerning conditions as affecting the farmers in Ontario and some farmers on the New York side. I spent all night with a farmer just this side of Niagara Falls who was getting his electricity, as were several of his neighbors, from Niagara Falls. I visited his neighbors the evening I was there. The current which they received was privately generated and privately owned. All the farmers were not paying the same rate because one farmer wants a different kind of service from that desired by another. As a rule, all farmers want some power. It is more important that they have power than that they have light in their homes, and the kind of service obtained, whether a farmer buys 10 horsepower or 20 horsepower or whether his load factor is 15

per cent or 80 per cent, makes up the difference in the rate paid. However, the farmers on this side were paying, as I remember now, three or four times as much as the farmers were paying over in Ontario.

If I had thought this question was going to be asked me I would have had a picture of a farm which I visited and which is supplied by electricity. The wife had in her home almost every known kind of household electrical device of which one could think. She heated her dishwasher by electricity; she heated the bath water by electricity; she cooked the year around by electricity; she did not have any other kind of cooking stove in her house; and the farmer milked his cows by electricity. He ran a dairy and milked 17 cows, as I remember. He filled his silo by electricity; he pumped water both for the barn and for the house by electricity. It was available all through his barn; water was supplied to his cows by electricity without taking them out of the stall. It was automatic. He told me that it saved him the price of a hired man, and that it saved his wife the price of a hired girl. I have forgotten the exact amount of money that that cost him the year before. He had his bills there and showed them to me; but it was under \$80. As I remember, it was seventy-nine dollars and some cents for a whole year for that service.

Mr. President, I want Senators to remember, when anybody talks about paying out of taxation electric rates up in Canada, that there is not anything to it. The only thing in the entire system is the payment of one-half the cost of construction of rural lines; and that has no application to a municipality. That has no application to this parent wholesale concern that supplies all of them with their current. It applies only to the farmer; and it does not apply to the farmer except as to paying one-half of the original cost of the installation of these transmission lines. That is all there is to it.

I want to read you from a letter that I have here before me, that I took from the New York World of just a few days ago. It shows how continually this misrepresentation is going on.

When I had my attention called to it in the cloakroom by the Senator from Virginia, another Senator came up. He heard us talking, and he waved his hand and said, "This Canadian business is all buncombe; there is nothing to it." I said, "What is there about it?" He said, "They get low rates up there, but they pay for it out of taxation." I asked him how he knew, and he said he had read it and heard it.

The same thing happened before the Agricultural Committee when one of the professors from the State University of Tennessee was on the witness stand. He was opposing a resolution of mine; and when I called his attention to the extremely high rate he was paying in Nashville, where he lived, and the low rate, about a third or less than a third of that, paid by the people of a town of equal size in Canada, he waved his hand and said, "There is nothing to that; they pay for it out of taxation"; and he was honest about it. I do not question his honesty or sincerity; neither do I question that of the Senator who made the sweeping statement that he made out there. There is nothing to it, however. It has come from this false statement that has the amount of truth behind it that I have given you—nothing else—and the Electric Light Trust has been busy sending that kind of misinformation to all the people of the United States.

One of the circulars that this great lobby down here sent out was very carefully worded. It was worded so that you could not get them on it; but it said, "Professor So-and-so says that the reason why they have low rates in Canada is because they pay the great portion of it out of taxation." The ordinary reader who gets that will believe, of course, if he believes anything they say, that over in Canada the people are paying for their low electric-light rate by taxation, when there is nothing to it. The electric-light interests of this country would not dare make the statement themselves, because it could be denied, and they could be put on the witness stand and made to eat their words; but they probably quoted the professor correctly, and the professor probably believed what he said.

The man writing this letter in the New York World is Arthur Williams. He is vice president, commercial relations, of the New York Edison Co. His letter is dated New York, February 21, 1928; so he is an official of this company. He has an interest in it. He ought to know what he is talking about. I want to read something that he said:

Returning to the Canadian rates—

Says Mr. Williams—

one is reminded with regret that there is only one Niagara—that priceless possession in the sense of beauty as well as of public service. While differences exist concerning some of the underlying policies, one of which, generally conceded, is basing of household rates upon political

rather than economic considerations, the people of that country are to be congratulated upon their marvelous electrical development, whether it be from the technical or engineering standpoint or that of great human service.

He is complimentary, you see, and yet he throws out a slur by saying that this was political. I am going to take that up a little later and show that that is all buncombe, 100 per cent buncombe.

Continuing, Mr. Williams says:

The largest city supplied by the Ontario system—Toronto—offers the fairest basis of comparison with New York's rates. Three classes of service are supplied, each at a different rate.

That is true. The Canadian system has three classes of service—domestic service, that enters into the homes; commercial service, that enters into the business houses; and power service, used entirely for power.

Reference by your correspondent—

He is referring to some other letter that I did not see—

is probably made to the cheapest, which is a kind of service New Yorkers have never been willing to use.

You would infer from that that New York is getting a better service than Toronto. I may not be able to tell the difference in services, but I have been in the two cities, and one of the best-lighted cities and one of the most profusely supplied with electric light in the civilized world, Senators, is Toronto, Canada. We have very few places in the United States that can compare with it. It has as fine an electric service as any man or woman ever enjoyed anywhere on the earth.

The price of low-tension direct current, with storage-battery reserves, which corresponds with the generally prevailing type of service in this city, is 6 cents a kilowatt-hour.

I do not know where Mr. Williams got that figure. Of course, I am not charging him with purposely misrepresenting, although a man in the business ought to know better than to make such a statement. There is not anything to it, as I shall show presently.

This compares with our New York rate of 7 cents with a small additional element of adjustment for coal. The Canadian system, however, pays no taxes; the tax differential alone paid in this city represents almost the entire difference between the two cities.

How far off he is there! I have here the figures of how much per kilowatt-hour the taxes amount to in New York, and they are only a fraction of a cent. As I remember now, they amount to about half a mill, or something of that kind.

Other differences exist which, if added, would bring the Canadian cost in excess of New York's for equivalent or similar service.

This parent company pays taxes in Canada. The municipalities, of course, in their local distributing systems, pay no taxes; that is true; but every one of them pays an amortization fee, while not a single man paying for electric light in New York pays such a fee. In Toronto, every man who has electric service pays a fee that in 30 years will pay off the entire debt incurred for the installation of their system; so that is something that is not paid in New York. The people of New York will be paying, if they continue as they are doing now, a thousand years from now, interest on the same investment. They will have paid the cost of the plant several times over. Their children will have paid it again; their grandchildren will have paid it again; and so on down through time.

Now I am going to give you the rate in Toronto; and I can give it to you for every year since they have had this system, if anybody wants it, and we will see. This man says, and I take his word for it, that they have a rate of 7 cents in New York.

In Toronto in 1926 the average cost for domestic service—that is, in the homes—for electric light during that year was 1.63 cents per kilowatt-hour.

I should like to have the New York World print that statement in a parallel column with the letter from this man who says they pay 6 cents.

The average cost to all the consumers in the city of Toronto in 1926 for domestic service, including the service charge and everything, was 1.63 cents per kilowatt-hour.

The average cost of the stores, the commercial users in Toronto, during the same year, was 2½ cents per kilowatt-hour.

The average cost to the power users in that city during 1926 was \$24.51 per horsepower per year.

There you have it for power, commercial service, and domestic service—the only three classes of service that they have, and that includes everybody. Compare that with the rate

anywhere else on earth; and I have not selected Toronto because it stands out alone by itself. I have selected Toronto because Mr. Williams selected Toronto; and, bear in mind, in that small charge there is an amortization fee that will pay off the principal in 30 years' time.

Mr. President, I have here, prepared for me by Mr. Judson King, a map that illustrates the cost of electric service between 32 American cities, represented by the black line, and 21 Ontario cities, represented by the red line, showing the cost to consumers of electric current.

I have not selected these cities. It might be of interest to know that they were selected and called to the attention of the Committee on Interstate Commerce when it had before it the so-called Walsh resolution. They were presented by ex-Senator Lenroot, representing the power companies. So, taking his figures, I had this table drawn.

I selected the Canadian cities, and I have taken the largest so as to get as near a comparison as I can. Everything else being equal, a large city ought to have much cheaper electricity than a small village or a small city, and it does, as a rule. Bear in mind also that in selecting these 32 cities, a list of which is here, Senator Lenroot took Cleveland, Los Angeles, and Seattle, cities where there are municipal plants, with a very cheap rate. If he took only cities that are supplied exclusively by private corporations, instead of having 7½ cents as the average rate, he would have one much higher, and if he took all the cities and all the villages in the United States supplied with electricity from private corporations, in my judgment he would run that figure higher and above 10 cents per kilowatt-hour.

In Canada we have taken all the cities with a population of 10,000 or more, and I notice one on the list with less than 10,000. The average rate in the American cities is 7.4 cents per kilowatt-hour. The average rate in the Canadian cities is 1.6 cents per kilowatt-hour, as shown by the records at the end of the last year. If we took all the American cities supplied with electricity by private sources and all the cities and villages in Canada, we would have a greater difference than we have here. It is a demonstration, it seems to me, that a gigantic power-distributing system such as they have in Ontario is a success, and it can not be otherwise.

The population of these 32 American cities is 25,326,000. The total population of the 21 Canadian cities is only 1,163,000. The comparison, it seems to me, is made where everything is favorable to the American cities and unfavorable to the others, and yet Senators see the wonderful results obtained.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. President, I think it would be interesting if the Senator would incorporate the names of those cities, and the data on the page attached to the map, in the RECORD, including the map.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not suppose I could get that map in the RECORD.

Mr. BLAINE. I think the Senator could, by reducing its size.

Mr. NORRIS. I would be glad to put it in, if I could, but I doubt whether under the rules I can get that map in the RECORD. Let me inquire of the Presiding Officer whether that would be possible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It can be done only by permission of the Joint Committee on Printing.

Mr. NORRIS. I ask unanimous consent that this map be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, together with a list of the various cities, both in the United States and in Canada, as to which the data is secured, together with a statement of their population.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request will be referred to the Committee on Printing, and I think they will act favorably on it.

[The map will be found in Senate proceedings of March 9, p. 4402.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I do not think there has been any more illuminating statement on the question of power than the one the Senator is now making, for the benefit not only of Senators, but of the country at large. I hope that before he concludes he will discuss the other economic features to which this power was dedicated, namely, the production of fertilizer for the people who so sorely need it.

I am not going to ask the Senator to let me speak at length, because I am going to discuss the matter in my own time, but I wanted to call his attention to one fact. The Senator represents a section of the country that does not suffer so greatly as does my section on account of the lack of artificial fertilization. He stated what it cost in a certain home to

have electricity to do all of the power work—less than \$100. On a farm of mine, down in South Carolina, a comparatively small farm, my fertilizer bill, cash out of pocket before we ever plant a seed, is, this year, between \$2,500 and \$3,500. From Florida to Maine, east of the Appalachian system of mountains, the problem of farm production is the problem of fertilization. In my State alone we spend for fertilizer—we must spend—millions upon millions of dollars, the exact amount I will state in my own time.

If the Senator will allow me this observation, there is in my section a curious condition, so far as soil and climate are concerned. The soil is naturally poor. The virgin forest may be taken off and the ground broken up, and yet even the virgin soil will not produce abundantly. But with artificial fertilization and rotation year by year it increases in fertility, until we stand to-day in my State the champion producers of Indian corn to the acre. We can produce more cotton to the acre than can the alluvial soil of Mississippi or the plains of Texas. With artificial fertilization, we can produce more wheat to the acre than can any other section. So that with us it is not a question of power; it is a question of an adequate supply of artificial fertilizer at a reasonable cost.

A curious thing has occurred since the agitation, the discovery of a method by which nitrogen can be extracted from the air, and progressive steps have been taken by science along that line. Chilean nitrate, the basis of all nitrogenous fertilization in my section, has steadily declined, until this year it is as cheap as it was previous to the war, attributable, in my opinion, to the competition that is present and potential in the production of synthetic ammonia from the atmosphere. If the farmers of the Atlantic seaboard were given one-half the cost of their fertilizers, they would be independent. The cost of fertilization practically consumes all the profits of farming, and my reason in 1916 for introducing a measure like this was because the cyanamide process had been demonstrated as a feasible plan by which nitrogen could be obtained in comparison with the use of products from our coke ovens and other processes.

Chile had a monopoly, and those who got the concessions from her were, of course, exploiting them. I introduced my bill because there were in the Muscle Shoals plant the possibilities of providing for the two elements so essential to our country, one its defense and the other its support, and I thought if I could get the nose of the camel under the tent we might demonstrate that the farmers could be relieved of a burden besides which power in my section sinks into insignificance.

On my farm I am supplied now by the Carolina Light & Power Co., with a transformer for my special benefit. That company runs its lines into my place. If I could reduce my fertilizer bill to a reasonable figure, I could buy their power at even the present price and make money. I could utilize the power and pay their present price if I could by the use of Muscle Shoals secure a reduction in the cost of my fertilizer to a figure I considered reasonable. That is why I introduced a bill to turn this plant over to a farm organization, to be run under the auspices of the Government, to create a commission and turn it over to the farmers and say, "You run this for your own interest." I do not see why as we have dedicated the plant to them and taxed the people something like \$200,000,000 to bring it to the stage of operation we should now consider diverting it to other purposes than that for which the Atlantic seaboard, from Maine to Florida, is paying yearly taxes of half a billion dollars for the purpose of enriching their soil to help feed the Nation.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senator asks me to discuss the fertilizer question. This, I think, is the fifth day that I have been discussing Muscle Shoals, and went over the fertilizer question and discussed it at a time when the Senator was not here.

Mr. SMITH. I was not present and did not hear the Senator.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not believe, in fairness to the Senate, that I ought to go over the ground again.

Mr. SMITH. No; I do not ask the Senator to.

Mr. NORRIS. I want to say to the Senator—and this will be repetition to some extent—that there is not a man living who is willing to go any further than I will go to bring about the production of cheap fertilizer for the American farmer, and I do not say that solely because of my interest in the farmer; but I am likewise interested in the consumer, and every man, woman, and child who either eats food or produces food is interested in fertilizer.

To my mind it would be folly to say, "Let us get cheaper fertilizer by throwing this power away." That would not give us cheaper fertilizer, and we would lose the power. I think I have demonstrated that the cyanamide process, to the discus-

sion of which I devoted a day or so, is obsolete as compared with other processes. Demonstration was not needed for the Senator from South Carolina, because I have been with him on the committee and I know his viewpoint, and I know that he is convinced, as I am convinced. The Senator from South Carolina is an expert on fertilizer, and he knows that it would be the height of folly and a waste of money to devote this great power now to the operation of plant No. 2 and make fertilizer. He knows as well as I do, from the study he has made with me and the study that he has made independent of everybody of the fertilizer question, that no business man anywhere on earth with enough brains to fill a teaspoon will say, "We will use 100,000 horsepower to operate plant No. 2 down there and make fertilizer," because he would not produce a pound of fertilizer that could be sold to the farmer at a lower price. If the expense of operation and the cost were charged in the price, as any business man would and ought to do, we would not be able to produce fertilizer as cheap as it is bought and sold on the market to-day.

The resolution which I have introduced, and which is pending here, provides for the use of all the money that we get from the sale of power here for the purpose of cheapening fertilizer by the proper experimentation and the proper investigation, and I am willing to go even further than that if anybody can suggest anything that is practical. I agree with the Senator that the fertilizer question is more important than any other.

Mr. SMITH. I agree heartily with the joint resolution of the Senator and am disposed to vote for it, to the exclusion even of my own resolution; but this thought is in my mind. I believe that an organization, either directly of farmers or one that is organized under the auspices of the Government and officered by them through proper farm organizations, should take charge of this entire property, and if they find, which doubtless they will find, that the manufacture of the article on the ground is not economical, then let them take the proceeds which may be derived from the sale of the power and at such places and in such units of manufacture under the synthetic process as may be proper, let them utilize it for their own benefit. The Senator in his resolution has identically the same idea that I have incorporated in my resolution, with the exception that I believe he ought to see that the commission or organization is composed of those actually engaged in agriculture, and let them employ such experts as they may need, and let them distribute the power as they think will best serve the interests of agriculture. Let them manufacture fertilizer out of the proceeds of this institution that we have dedicated to them when and where they may think best. Let them make the experiments for their own benefit, as the Senator has illustrated that the united people of a Province in Canada have demonstrated may be done for the entire people through the united effort of all the people.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, when I digressed to discuss the map to which I referred, I had not finished talking about the Toronto system, and I want to recur to that so as to finish it. I had shown, in answer to the letter printed in the New York World, that while they were paying 7 cents in New York, in Toronto they were paying an average of 1.63 cents per kilowatt-hour during the entire year 1926. I also showed that in that small fee was included an amortization fee which would wipe the debt off the face of the earth in three years.

I did not say, however, what I think ought to be said, and that is that under the Canadian system the books are balanced every year. I think the fiscal year of the system ends on the 31st day of October. Every year the books are balanced. If a municipality should say to the parent company at the beginning of the year, "We will want so much electricity during the year," it is to some extent an estimate always. The charges they are going to make to their consumers are based on their estimates as to how much will be consumed. It may be that they have made an underestimate and that they have not charged enough at the end of the year to pay all the bills, or if they have placed the rate the other way for safety, they have charged too much, so that at the end of the year they will have a surplus out of that year's operations.

Every city must balance its books every year, and Toronto had to balance hers at the end of 1926. During that year she charged a rate that averaged to all her domestic consumers 1.63 cents per kilowatt-hour. What happened at the end of the year? Had she charged enough? Did she still owe the parent company something? Had she charged too much? That is all shown in the official report. As a rule in those reports it will be found 90 times out of 100 that they have a surplus of money coming to them, money on hand instead of a deficit. Once in a while they will underestimate and not charge enough, and when

the year is ended and that happens, they have a deficit to make up.

In the case of Toronto, at the end of 1926 they had money left that had not been used in payment of all the necessary charges which the law required them to make—amortization, interest, depreciation, upkeep, and repairs—and that money amounted to \$6,962.50. They had charged their people a little too much. They had guessed the right way. If we run through the list of cities and municipalities, over 400 in number, it will be found almost universally that that is the case, and it would be good business, too, because they have charged a little bit more than was necessary in almost every case.

Let me now give the average for all purposes. The man who maintains that they charge too much for power and let the domestic consumer get through with less, or too much to the commercial user, can now get his figures and compare them with similar charges in the United States, where private companies supply the electricity, because I am going to give the average in each class.

First, let us take the domestic consumer. In 1926 there were 83 per cent of the consumers of electricity in domestic service in Ontario, Canada, who paid 1.9 cents per kilowatt-hour or less. Just grasp those figures. See what they mean. Out of all the domestic consumers 83 per cent paid 1.9 cents per kilowatt-hour or less. Many of them paid much less. Fifteen per cent of the domestic consumers paid between 2 cents and 3.9 cents per kilowatt-hour during the entire year 1926. Now, we have accounted for 98 per cent. We have 2 per cent of the consumers yet to account for; 1.8 per cent paid between 4 cents and 6.9 cents per kilowatt-hour. We still have two-tenths of 1 per cent of the consumers left to account for. They paid 7 cents or more. Only two-tenths of 1 per cent of all the domestic consumers in the Province paid as high as 7 cents per kilowatt-hour, and 83 per cent paid less than 2 cents per kilowatt-hour.

Now, let us take the commercial users. Eighty-six per cent of the commercial users of electricity in Ontario, Canada, in 1926 paid an average of 2.9 cents per kilowatt-hour or less. In other words, 86 per cent of the consumers for commercial purposes paid less than 3 cents per kilowatt-hour; 12.4 per cent of the commercial users paid 3 cents and 4.9 cents per kilowatt-hour; 1.3 per cent paid between 5 cents and 7.9 cents per kilowatt-hour; three-tenths of 1 per cent paid over 8 cents per kilowatt-hour.

Now, let us take power. Seventy-six per cent of the users of power paid \$25 per horsepower per year or less; 8.6 per cent of the users of power paid between \$25 and \$30 per horsepower per year; 15 per cent paid between \$30 and \$40 per horsepower per year. Only four-tenths of 1 per cent paid over \$40 per horsepower per year.

To the man who says, as the power lobby here has so often said and spread over the country, that they will let the domestic fellow have the cheapest rates because he has a vote, but when a man wants to get it for power he must pay more than we pay here, I will state that he will find places where cheaper power can be had than the highest priced power up there, but if we average up the prices paid for power we will find that \$45 to \$30 per horsepower per year is a mighty cheap rate for power. Moreover, the law of Canada provides that each one of those classes must stand on its own bottom. One class can not borrow from another. One class can not be gouged at the expense of another. It stands there like a stone wall by itself, and every year all the users of domestic light, commercial light, or power have a settlement. The charges are based on actual cost, and each system is independent, as far as charges are concerned, of either of the other two.

Mr. President, I have already taken too much of the time of the Senate, but I have only touched on a great many of the important questions involved. It would be exceedingly interesting to take up the history of the hydroelectric commission's operations in Canada. I have been over it in considerable detail at different times. I have not the time to do it now, or at least it does not seem to me to be advisable to take the necessary time to go over it again.

I wish briefly in closing to refer to some of the things with which they have had to contend. The principal thing, Senators, with which that commission has had to contend has been misrepresentation on this side of the line by those sent up there to investigate; by the power combines in the United States. They have circulated part truths such as I have called to the attention of Senators during the course of my remarks this afternoon, until millions of people on account of the repetition of those falsehoods believe them to be true. I was dumbfounded the other day to see a Member of the Senate wave his hand in satisfaction and put it all behind him by

saying, "There is nothing to that; they pay for their electric lights from taxation." Honest as he no doubt was, he had fallen a victim to the falsehoods and the misrepresentation that have been scattered over this country by the Electric Light Trust.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. SIMMONS. I shall not interrupt the Senator in that line of thought. I wanted to ask him a question connected with the inquiry that he has just been pursuing with reference to the cost of the production and the sale of power in Canada and in the United States. In referring to the United States the Senator spoke generally of kilowatt-hours, but in speaking of Canada a little while ago he spoke of horsepower. I wish to ask the Senator if offhand he can tell me what would 15 cents per kilowatt-hour amount to computed in horsepower?

Mr. NORRIS. I could figure that out for the Senator.

Mr. SIMMONS. I asked the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] the same question and he stated a figure which was so enormous that it seemed to me that he must have made a mistake.

Mr. NORRIS. It would be enormous, but it could be easily figured out. However, it would take some time to do it.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think if the Senator could work it out and put it in his speech in connection with the figures that he gave based on horsepower in Canada, it would be very much more impressive to the American reader.

Mr. NORRIS. It might be. I think the Senator's suggestion is a very good one. The figures which I have given as to the average cost of electricity for domestic and commercial uses and for power should be considered in connection with the facts as stated on page 338 of the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Hydroelectric Commission of Canada:

It should be kept in mind that the revenues contributed by the consumers include, in addition to the cost of power, sums applicable to retirement of capital. The annual contributions during the past year to sinking fund and principal payments on debentures in respect of the capital investments of the commission and of the municipalities, together with surplus, amounted to about 20 per cent of the total revenue contributed by the consumers in the municipalities which collectively own the undertaking.

That is quite a large figure—20 per cent. I think that is a very important statement.

Since these sums represent investments by the consumers which result in future reduction of rates, the cost of the electrical service itself to the consumers is virtually only 80 per cent of the charges per kilowatt-hour and per horsepower indicated in Statement D and in the summary figures derived therefrom.

In other words, in order to get the true picture, the figures that I have given ought to have 20 per cent taken off in order to compare them with figures that are always given by privately owned generating distributing systems.

Mr. President, some day we are going to have a system such as Canada has; some day this old world is going to reach the point where we are going to have electricity in every home the same as we have water; some day it is going to be on every farm; some day every stream that trickles down the mountain side is going to perform service for mankind; some day there will not be a home, either in the country or in the city, but will be supplied by electricity; and all the uses that we know now and those that may be invented in the future will be available to humanity. We can not escape that, Mr. President; it is as sure as is the law of gravitation.

When the world is on this road of progress and is going further onward in promoting the happiness of mankind, we are now confronted with the question as to whether we are going to pull back or whether we are going to push forward. If when that time shall come—which will be within the lifetime of those now living, although it will probably not be within mine—humanity shall find itself chained to earth by a private monopoly, the children of that day will arise and curse our memories for not saving them from the bond of slavery that must be theirs if we fail to do our duty.

In saying this, Mr. President, I charge no man with being dishonest, with doing anything that he does not conscientiously believe to be right. Human nature is much the same everywhere; it is the same whether it is on this side of the aisle or whether it is on the other side. The human heart is much the same whether it is found in a Senator or in a man who is laboring in the street. Humanity is about the same all over the world when we get right down to bedrock. The things necessary for the enjoyment of life depend upon the advance of science and the condition of the human mind at any given time.

Forty years ago this question might have passed with only a moment's consideration; nobody would have thought of it; but

20 years from now it will be a thousand times more important than it is to-day. We can now see what this unseen force is accomplishing and appreciate what wonderful things are in store for our descendants if we properly use the elements that God Almighty has given to man. We will see the time when every stream that flows downhill will promote the happiness of mankind or will be used by private monopoly as a chain to fasten humanity to the earth; and we are confronted with a little step—just a little one—involving the determination whether we are going to add to that monopoly and give it opportunity to bind our children and our children's children to practically a form of slavery.

Charge all those who have such idea as being dreamers, if you want to, but we are fast approaching the day when electricity, as I said before, is going to be as necessary as is water; and no free people will always submit to being held down by a monopoly. Remember that in order to obtain the greatest happiness from the use of this element we must have a monopoly, and it ought to be a monopoly owned by the people themselves. There is no reason why we should turn over the latent power in the rivers and streams that God has put upon the earth to private individuals in order that they may make a private gain at the sacrifice of all the people who own the streams and this blessed element of electricity.

So I think we are presented with an important question, Senators. It is whether we are going to turn Muscle Shoals over to a private monopoly that is already reaching all over the country. When it fastens its grasp upon all of us we will beg then for an opportunity to investigate to find out where their charges are wrong, even though we feel that they are but are not able to demonstrate it. This legislation, if enacted, will stand out as a guidepost, directing us to the place where we can obtain information, where we will be able to ascertain how much it costs to produce electric power and what ought to be charged to God's people when they use their own property.

So I beseech the Senate, no matter what may be the belief of individual Senators as to Government operation and Government ownership, to remember that this is not entirely a question of Government operation or Government ownership. The Government owns Muscle Shoals now, it operates it now, and the question is, Shall we turn it over to private monopoly or shall we keep it for all the people?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON].

Mr. BLACK obtained the floor.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. Would the Senator from Alabama like to have a quorum present to hear him?

Mr. BLACK. I yield.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Barkley	Fess	McMaster	Shipstead
Bayard	Frazier	McNary	Simmons
Black	George	Metcalf	Smith
Blaine	Glass	Neely	Steiwer
Bleas	Gould	Norris	Stephens
Brookhart	Hale	Nye	Swanson
Broussard	Harris	Overman	Tydings
Bruce	Harrison	Phipps	Tyson
Capper	Hawes	Ransdell	Walsh, Mass.
Caraway	Heflin	Robinson, Ark.	Walsh, Mont.
Couzens	Johnson	Robinson, Ind.	Waterman
Curtis	King	Sackett	Watson
Cutting	La Follette	Schall	Willis
Edge	McKellar	Sheppard	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-five Senators having answered to their names, there is a quorum present.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, it is easy to realize that the subject of Muscle Shoals has been discussed so much and over such a long period of years that perhaps it will be difficult to make any statement which will be either interesting or enlightening; but in view of the fact that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], in the judgment of the people whom I in part represent, is attempting to divert the power at Muscle Shoals from the purpose of manufacturing fertilizer, for which object it has been formally dedicated, I desire to present some facts with reference to his proposition.

I wish to call to mind in the first place the fact that the pending joint resolution, while it purports to be a bill for the manufacture of fertilizer, is in fact no such thing. One who reads the title might believe that if it should be enacted into law the farmers of America would receive some relief from the distress under which they have been ground down to economic slavery not to a Power Trust but to a Chile nitrate combination.

This bill provides, first, that the power shall be sold on the open market—a proposition which was never contemplated,

according to the records, by any citizen or any Senator or any Congressman who voted for the original bill. It provides, in the next place, a legally declared preference for municipalities, with no declared method of enforcing that preference; and I am convinced that if this joint resolution becomes law as it is written within less than six months the Alabama Power Co. will have a 10-year contract for practically every kilowatt of power that is generated by the water that flows over Wilson Dam.

The people of Alabama oppose that, not because of hostility to the power company, but because of the fact that this power was originally dedicated in peace time to the use of the American farmer. For 10 years this great project has been built. For 10 years the farmers of America have known that Congress was friendly to them, because Congress has daily said so. For 10 years millions and millions of words have been spoken and written about the distress of the farmer. These words have piled mountain high in professions of sympathetic interest for the farmers, that have not, in so far as Muscle Shoals is concerned, been translated into a reality.

The biggest plant in America for the fixation of nitrogen by the cyanamide process has been silent for 10 years, while the farmers turned their wistful gaze toward Washington and said, "Now we know that our relief is near; our fertilizer bill will be reduced"; but with words printed in the magazines by people who are really their friends, with words spoken in Congress by people who are really their friends, with their friends divided as to the method by which their relief should be effected, year after year and session after session the farmers of America have continued to be borne down by the burden of an unjust price for fertilizer. During this time propaganda has gone out all over this Nation that fertilizer can not be manufactured at Muscle Shoals at a cheaper rate than it can be bought from Chile, notwithstanding the fact that if the farmers read the record of the test run made at cyanamide plant No. 2, which plant is claimed to be obsolete, and if they will read the figures as to the price at which fixed nitrate can be manufactured at that so-called obsolete plant, they will find that the Government's own engineer conducting a test operation of this very plant has officially reported that by the continued operation of this plant nitrogen could be reduced in price to the farmer 7 cents per pound, amounting to approximately \$7,000,000 reduction for the farmers' fertilizer on the total output of that plant. Notwithstanding that fact people still talk "Power! Power!" The farmers are asking for the bread of nitrate, and they get the stone of power.

Here is the whole gist of this controversy: Shall the power from Muscle Shoals be turned over to prosperous industry, or shall it be turned over to the impoverished farmer?

It is all right to draw pictures of farmers having their churns worked, their dishes washed, and their cows milked by electricity; but I want to say to you, as one who is familiar with the farmers of Alabama—it may not be true of Mississippi and other States—that it is worth very little to a farmer whose cow and horse are mortgaged for his fertilizer to offer to cure his ills by supplying power to churn his milk and wash his dishes and milk his cows.

That is the issue, veil it as you may. Will you turn that power over to industry or the farmer? I have heard practically every day since I came to this body that the farmer is poor and downtrodden and overworked and borne down by the burden of obligations. Yet the farmer, if this resolution or the amendments pass, is offered the sweet solace, when he puts his weary limbs to bed at night to pass into troubled slumber, that some scientist, some theorist, for 10 years will be probing into glass tubes and poking around in factories to try to perfect a process which I can prove to you by the statement of the engineers of the United States, whom the Senator from Nebraska says are perfectly reliable, is already in such state of perfection that if, for instance, that plant had been operated last year at capacity, and it had cost every dime to operate it that Colonel Burns said it would cost, the State of South Carolina could have saved on its purchased nitrogen more than a million dollars.

Yet, what those farmers who live away up on the hillsides where, as the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Norris] said, the "brooks trickle and the branches run," what those farmers who never have thought about having hired help, what those farmers who follow their mules from early morning to late at night, will get will be power. It is my belief that when that kind of farmer sees by light coming from that power it will be when their children's children are standing there in the same place where they lived. The sad part of this picture is that the farmer in the meantime will be deprived of fertilizer at a reasonable price because the Congress of the United States could not reach an agreement on a method of operating the

greatest potential asset that the farmers of America have to-day.

Gentlemen are arguing about whether it will be privately operated or governmentally operated, drawing beautiful, dazzling visions of electric lights all over the Nation, and the Senators who come from the South know that the electricity which reaches the people there will touch few farms of the people of Mississippi, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. There is propaganda distributed to the effect that there is poverty of power; that it must be equally distributed, and each State must have its part of power; anything, in fact, to prevent the revolution of the wheels at Muscle Shoals that might afford relief to the farmer.

The whole fight here is between the application of this power to industry and to the farm. A man may be the best friend the farmer ever had, but if his eyes are so dazzled by the brilliance of power, by the beautiful illumination, a dream lighting up the mortgaged home of the farmer, that he can not see the practical situation that faces the farmer to-day with reference to high-priced fertilizer, then the farmer might be injured as much by his friend as by his enemy.

The industry and commerce of the United States during the year 1925 reached the highest level ever attained in our history, not even excepting the years of abnormal war activity. If Senator Norris' bill passes, this power goes to industry, and there is not one kilowatt out of a million that will reach any farmer down on the hills of Alabama or Georgia or Mississippi or South Carolina.

Mr. President, these are old figures; but they are worthy of being called to the attention of the Senate, because of the fact that this is a fight, conceal it as you will, between those who want this power to be used for the benefit of the farmer and those who want it used to turn over the wheels of industry. What about that? Why should industry be preferred over agriculture, since incomes from farming since 1900 have not been sufficient to pay a fair return on the current value of the capital used and a fair wage for the farmers' labor; when the total indebtedness of the American farmers is from twelve to fifteen billion dollars; when mortgages on the farmers' homes amount to more than \$8,000,000,000; when the collateral and personal loans, where the farmer has his cow and his horse and his house mortgaged, are more than \$3,000,000,000?

I call attention to this at the outset for the reason that I want to show that it is not fair and not just to take power that is needed to reduce the price of fertilizer for the farmer and make his life easier and, under the guise of equal distribution or equal anything else, tell the farmers of America, "We offered it to you, but it was a sham and a pretense and a mockery." It is not fair to permit agriculture to continue to languish on the ground, poor and bleeding, while industry continues to soar higher into the skies.

What do we know about fertilizer? There were imported into America in the year 1927, 838,591 tons of Chile nitrate. I call attention to the fact that in the years before the war, when this country was unprepared, just before the time when the first naval engagement was fought off the coast of Chile, there were being imported into America, in the year 1914, 606,720 tons of Chile nitrate, or 200,000 tons less than the year 1927. To-day, 10 years after the war, when we should have learned our lesson of preparedness, although we have spent billions and billions of dollars to build battleships, the only plant that America has in it that could prevent our dependence upon Chile for nitrates has had its wheels idle, while the directors of this great Government of ours have argued as to whether it should be operated by the Government or by private individuals, whether private initiative or the Government should operate the plant, and various other controversial matters.

During that same time war-torn and bleeding Germany has absolutely driven Chilean nitrate out of their country, and last year, as against 830,000 tons of Chilean nitrate shipped into this country, there were shipped into Germany only 25,000 tons of nitrates. Nitrates, it will be remembered, are essential if America is prepared to use the guns and battleships billions of dollars have built.

Now, 10 years after the war, in which America realized that it must have nitrates for explosives, we are still arguing over whether we shall experiment 10 more years in order to do what Germany has not experimented with but what Germany has actually done.

Knowing these facts, it is now proposed that we sell the farmers' power for 10 more years, and while we are doing it experiment and project around, and thereby make the world believe that America is not capable, as Germany is, of transacting its business and preparing for war in time of peace.

What do we have next? The total cost of this nitrate that was shipped into America at \$47 per ton was \$39,413,777. The American Cyanamid Co., using this method which is claimed to be obsolete—which some Senators say is just absolutely foolish to follow, which no one except a man who does not have enough brains to fill a spoon, they say, would use—during the year 1927, with exactly the same kind of a plant that we have at Muscle Shoals, except for certain improvements which could be made at very little expense, sold nitrates and ammo-phos, which contains nitrate, at \$64.40 a ton, and the nitrate thus manufactured was sold on the open market at a price which, if it had been substituted for Chilean nitrate, instead of costing this country \$39,000,000, would have cost this country \$19,757,112.

Now, instead of a saving of \$19,656,665 on an alleged obsolete process, this resolution requires that theorists project around and probe about in tubes to seek further reductions in price, because \$19,000,000 is not enough for Americans to save. The theorists want to make it perfect.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator whether the figure at which they estimate that this can be sold is an estimate, or did the farmers actually buy the cyanamide?

Mr. BLACK. This was actually sold at Warners, N. J., to the farmers of the world.

Mr. SMITH. Has the Senator ever had any experience with the use of cyanamide direct?

Mr. BLACK. Does the Senator mean cyanamide or ammo-phos?

Mr. SMITH. No; cyanamide.

Mr. BLACK. I have not; but the people of Alabama have used this exact fertilizer, and I have telegrams and letters in my office now telling me that they can use it; that they want it; that it is an ideal fertilizer where there is red clay land; and they do not need potash.

Mr. SMITH. I think the experience of the farmers in the use of cyanamide was not very satisfactory, in view of the fact that the basis of it was lime to hold the nitrogen content. I am aware of the fact that it can be used by the fertilizer companies as a basis for their ammonia and nitrogen, which are convertible terms, but it is not practical to use it direct, as we do nitrate or soda. But I will not take up the time of the Senator in arguing that now; I will go into it in my own time and discuss it.

I do not think there is any question of doubt—and the Senator will, of course, give due weight to it—that our own laboratory here, our nitrate research laboratory, has demonstrated that the synthetic process is infinitely greater than any other in its capacity for turning out ammonia. A unit of power will produce three or four or five times as many units of ammonia as the cyanamide process will, and they claim—and I shall introduce their figures in what I have to say—that the synthetic process is the one now that is not only past its experimental stage, but is practicable; and I do not see why we may not utilize it at Muscle Shoals. The Senator and I are not apart on the idea that the whole project should be dedicated to agriculture and the power or the proceeds of the power used for the purpose of relieving the burden of the price of fertilizer.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. President, Senator SMITH and I are a long way apart if he advocates using the proceeds of this power for experimental purposes only. I admit that the synthetic process can be used; but I claim that the records show, and that business experience shows, that the cyanamide process can be used just as cheaply, and not only that it can, but that it is being done.

Mr. SMITH. I just want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that we are spending a good deal of money in our nitrate research laboratory. I do not have the figures here now, and would not risk my memory in quoting the exact figures, but I do not think there is any question in the world but that it is impossible to produce practical results for the farmer—ammonia or nitrate in the form of cyanamide—when compared to the cost of production by the synthetic process.

Mr. BLACK. I do not care to get into a long controversy over that.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BLACK. Certainly.

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator has alluded to the fact that Germany has protected itself against Chilean nitrate, and the Senator has cited certain figures. Was it by the synthetic process that nitrates were made in Germany or by the cyanamide process?

Mr. BLACK. Both, and I have the comparative figures, which I will read later.

Mr. HARRISON. I had understood from the speech of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] that there was a tremendous increase in the production in Germany by the synthetic process, while there had been practically no increase in the production by the cyanamide process.

Mr. BLACK. I did not want to get far into the subject at this time, but I want to state that I do not care whether they use the synthetic or the cyanamide process. It does not make any difference to me. Both of them are past the experimental stage. The cyanamide people claim that their process is the better. The synthetic people claim that their process is the better. One of the gentlemen from whom the Senator from Nebraska quoted a few days ago, who was with the Government, I am informed now has a position with a synthetic plant in this country. There is a fight on between the two as to which is the better, and I call attention to this without caring which one is the better.

The Cyanamid people have the patents on their process. The synthetic people came over from Germany and attempted to sell the Cyanamid Co. the synthetic process. They investigated it, with their engineers, and would not buy. I am informed that the Du Pont Co. and the Allied Chemical Co. did buy it. Their propagandists have been at work, as well as the propagandists of the power companies that want this power at Muscle Shoals for utility purposes. These propagandists have been busy, and have tried to prove to the Congress of the United States that it is foolish to attempt to operate the plant, even though a plant of exactly the same kind is being operated at a profit by a company which has grown by leaps and bounds in the last five years in competition with the nitrate producers of the world. But we will come to that a little later.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BLACK. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. Are there any products of the Cyanamid Co. now going into fertilizer?

Mr. BLACK. Yes; 75,000 tons of them.

Mr. McKELLAR. Now going into fertilizer?

Mr. BLACK. That is what will go into it this year according to my information.

Using this "obsolete" process—let us not forget that—which is too bad for the United States, the farmers of America lost last year \$19,656,000.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BLACK. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH. It has been stated that the cyanamide process has proven such a success and the product can be produced much cheaper than the Chilean nitrates. Their plant has been in operation at Niagara, and that was the incentive really for the bill which I introduced that became the foundation of all this proposed legislation. They have had their plant at Muscle Shoals and they have had their plant at Niagara. They have had absolute control of the patents. Why have they not been putting it on the market in such quantities as to drive the Chilean nitrate off the market?

Mr. BLACK. It is because the Senate, in the first place, would not let them have the plant at Muscle Shoals which the Senator mentions they had.

Mr. SMITH. Could not they—

Mr. BLACK. I will explain the other point now.

Mr. SMITH. Could not they have gotten other water power?

Mr. BLACK. Yes; and they have another water-power project and have been producing, but they can not do it all in a day. They started out in 1925 and produced 18,000 tons. In 1926 they produced 34,000 tons, which is a pretty good growth. In 1927, while we were still debating in this country whether or not the process was obsolete and worn out, the American Cyanamid Co. increased to 50,000 tons.

Mr. SMITH. At what points were they doing that?

Mr. BLACK. At Niagara Falls and Warners, N. J. Thus far during the present year they have already outstanding contracts and have increased their capacity, not installed capacity as was argued here but their operating capacity, and will turn out 75,000 tons of pure nitrate. I do not mean nitrate that is mixed with rock or nitrate that is mixed up with something else, but 75,000 tons of pure nitrate. They have been growing with unusual rapidity. During that time they have been in competition with Germany. Week before last they took away from Germany an order in Hawaii. They are selling to Japan. They are selling to other countries in the Old World in competition with the so-called perfected synthetic process. Bear in mind that so far as I am concerned I do not care what process is used at Muscle Shoals, but I do object to tying this power up for 10 more years and experimenting during all that time, while the farmer looks forward to the time when his children's children may get the benefit of the experiments of which Germany is getting the benefit to-day.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me, there is no possible difference between the position the Senator occupies and the one I occupy. It is not a question of whether we shall use the cyanamide process or the synthetic process. It is a question of the most practical process. I have been relying upon the experts employed and financed by the Congress of the United States to give us the proper information, and their bulletins on the question clearly state that the practical process is the synthetic process. We have to depend upon their laboratory research and upon their honesty and their capacity to give us information or else we ought to abolish the whole scheme. Therefore it brings me to the thought that if we are going to dedicate Muscle Shoals for the use of the farmer it is the Senator's duty and my duty to see to it that the best possible process, the cheapest and most efficient process, shall be used at Muscle Shoals for the production of actual practical fertilizer that would be used by the farmer, and not the production of an ingredient that has to go through a mixing plant of the great fertilizer companies before it becomes available for the use of the farmer.

Mr. BLACK. I may say in reply to the Senator's question, as to whether or not we should believe what the Government experts say, that I will show the Senator in just a few moments that one of those experts who went with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] to the synthetic plants—and, by the way, they did not go to the cyanamide plant—by his own figures, in the hearings before the committee of which the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is a member, showed that the farmers of the South and of the whole country would have obtained nitrate at about 7 cents per pound cheaper if the Muscle Shoals cyanamide plant had been operated than they were able to obtain it from Chile.

I have always heard another thing, which is pretty good doctrine to go by, and that is that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof." When a company goes from 18,000 tons to 75,000 tons in a period of four or five years it is pretty good evidence that shrewd business men are not putting their money into any process which is obsolete and worn out.

Now I would like to proceed with these figures.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator a question before he proceeds.

Mr. BLACK. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator said that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof," and that is true. Is it not true that the various fertilizer companies, including the Cyanamid Co., have a fixed price for fertilizer and that they sell to the farmer at such fixed price? If we were to take up one of the concerns and turn this great plant over to it, how would that benefit the farmers if the Cyanamid Co. is already in a combination to maintain a fixed price for fertilizer which is sold to the farmer?

Mr. BLACK. I do not propose at this time to argue the Madden bill. I am perfectly willing to do that when we reach it. I propose now to show by actual figures that the statement that the cyanamide process is obsolete is disproved, in fact, and to show by actual figures what has been lost to the farmers of the South and of the United States by keeping this plant idle while the Nation dallies along debating which is the proper process.

Mr. SMITH. May I make this statement, and then I shall not interrupt the Senator further. I think the word "obsolete" was used in a comparative sense. An oxcart is not obsolete, even though we have the automobile, but no one will question that transportation by the automobile is quicker and more efficient than by oxcart. The Government claims in its bulletin that the synthetic process—

Mr. BLACK. I have read every word of it.

Mr. SMITH. The Government claims that the cyanamide process consumes such an enormous amount of power as compared with the synthetic process that as a cheap and practical method of obtaining ammonia it is not to be compared.

Mr. BLACK. I understand that. I understand further that the cyanamide process uses one man every time the synthetic process uses three men. I understand further that labor is cheaper in Germany, where the synthetic process is used, than it is in America. I understand further that the by-products which are produced from the manufacture under the cyanamide process are of immense value. I believe that both processes could be used to-day so as to benefit the farmer, and I know further that no fertilizer is manufactured from the synthetic process. I know further that under the bill of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] the farmers would not be benefited by any process except as experiments might indirectly aid them.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. BLACK. Certainly.

Mr. GEORGE. I want to ask the Senator, because he has probably studied the question more than I have, if there is anybody proposing to use the synthetic process?

Mr. BLACK. There is a bid which proposes to use whichever process will make the product best.

Mr. GEORGE. What bid is that?

Mr. BLACK. The Cyanamid Co.

Mr. GEORGE. And it is not confined to the cyanamide process?

Mr. BLACK. Certainly not. They want to use it because they know they can use it cheaper, but they are not tied down to it in their bid.

Mr. GEORGE. They say they will use either process?

Mr. BLACK. They say if the time ever comes when the synthetic process is cheaper, they will adopt it in a minute.

Mr. GEORGE. I understand the Senator to say he will discuss that bid at a later time?

Mr. BLACK. I shall discuss that bid after we have done what I think we should do, and that is defeat the pending resolutions and amendments which would not give the farmers an ounce of fertilizer except to a very few for experimental purposes.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, right in this connection, if my colleague will permit me—

Mr. BLACK. Certainly.

Mr. HEFLIN. Professor Howe, the chemical expert witness whom the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] had before the committee just recently, when he was testifying was asked this question:

Senator HEFLIN. The American Cyanamid Co. is doing a very flourishing business, is it not?

Professor HOWE. To the best of my information it is.

Senator HEFLIN. Is this American Cyanamid fertilizer a good fertilizer?

Professor HOWE. It certainly is.

Senator HEFLIN. Is it a fine plant food?

Professor HOWE. Yes; unquestionably.

Mr. BLACK. Now, if I may be allowed to proceed with some of these figures, I want to show by actual figures that even though the cyanamide process is as "obsolete as an oxcart," it would have saved the farmers of America millions of dollars to have had that plant at Muscle Shoals in operation last year.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, will the Senator let me ask him a very simple question?

Mr. BLACK. Certainly.

Mr. SIMMONS. I am asking for information only and not to get into any controversy. To what extent has cyanamide, as it is used in fertilizer, supplanted nitrate of soda from Chile?

Mr. BLACK. As I understand it, cyanamide alone is not used as a fertilizer to any extent, but in combination with other elements.

Mr. SIMMONS. I mean the combination that is used as a fertilizer. To what extent has that combination supplanted the use of nitrate of soda as furnished from Chile?

Mr. BLACK. In America?

Mr. SIMMONS. Nitrate of soda imported from abroad.

Mr. BLACK. In America it has not supplanted it to any appreciable extent by reason of the fact that there is not a single fertilizer factory in America that is itself fixing nitrogen. It has supplanted it to this extent: Many of them are buying cyanamide from the Cyanamid Co. To that extent it is supplanted. It will be a process of education, as all agree, including the Secretary of Agriculture, to bring the farmer up to the point where he can use concentrated fertilizer with the same facility that he uses mixed fertilizer.

Mr. SIMMONS. I will ask the Senator again, Is not the farmer to-day using nitrate of soda secured from Chile?

Mr. BLACK. Yes; and I have just given the figures.

Mr. SIMMONS. Instead of nitrate of soda made by the cyanamide process?

Mr. BLACK. Yes; he is.

Mr. SIMMONS. Is not the reason for that largely because the cost of the fertilizer made by the latter process is greater than that of nitrate imported from Chile?

Mr. BLACK. No; it is for this reason—

Mr. SIMMONS. Together with the fact that the nitrate imported from Chile is a little safer as a plant food?

Mr. BLACK. I do not so understand it. I understand it is for the reason that there is an immense amount of investment among the fertilizer companies of America in antiquated machinery which would be absolutely useless if they fixed nitrogen from the air. The result is that the fertilizer industry, so long as it can maintain the high prices made necessary and imperative by antiquated machinery, is not interested in fixing nitrogen from the air by a cheaper process. My idea is that if

the Government, instead of competing with the power companies, which would help the farmers very little, would cause that plant to compete with the fertilizer factories and reduce the price of fixed nitrate, as it has to do, that then the farmers would get the benefit.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] agrees with what the Senator from Alabama has stated, that there is an immense amount of ammonia made in the form of cyanamide in this country, but that only a very small amount of it is actually used by the farmer for fertilizer.

Mr. BLACK. The Cyanamid Co. at Niagara Falls, as I said a few moments ago, sends most of its fertilizer abroad. It began doing so several years ago. That is, perhaps, partially due to the fact that Europe being much older in settlement and the farms having been under tillage over a vastly longer period of years, and the nitrates necessarily having been taken from the ground, it became imperative that the people of the Old World devise new plans and new methods to supply the nitrate which was being rapidly exhausted. Therefore they had begun to use the concentrated fertilizer before we did in America.

I am now undertaking to show that the concentrated process as used at Muscle Shoals will reduce the price generally, and after that I shall show the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], I think to his satisfaction, that it will reduce the price to him on his farm and will reduce the price to every citizen of his State.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think, then, I understand the Senator's position. I think the Senator admits that at this time the farmer is getting his nitrates from Chile.

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir; that is mainly true, and that is why I just quoted the figures I did.

Mr. SIMMONS. And the farmer is not getting them from the plants about which the Senator is talking?

Mr. BLACK. That is correct.

Mr. SIMMONS. Although those plants have been making cyanamide for a great number of years.

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIMMONS. But the Senator says if Muscle Shoals can be dedicated to the making of cyanamide then we shall begin to make our nitrates at Muscle Shoals instead of buying them from Chile?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir. I am just now giving the figures.

Mr. SIMMONS. The fact is, however, that up to this time we have not been doing that, although we have been manufacturing, first, 19,000, then thirty-odd thousand, and finally 75,000 tons of cyanamide, but have been using practically none of it for the purpose of fertilizer.

I am saying this as a farmer to the Senator from Alabama. I have to buy a great deal of this material. I have bought but a very little of cyanamide.

There was a little of it once brought to my town and we bought some. There was a dealer who dealt altogether in it in a section of the State, but at the end of the year he had about 100 lawsuits brought against him on account of the damage done to crops by the use of cyanamide. We have not learned, in my State, at least, to use cyanamide as a source of nitrogen. In my section we get our nitrates almost entirely from Chile. I think that is also the fact with reference to the remainder of the country. I do not know what the future may bring; the Senator's predictions may be correct; but considering the present as well as the past—we have been making cyanamide for 10 or 15 years in this country—

Mr. SMITH. We have been making it longer than that, if the Senator will allow me to make the suggestion.

Mr. SIMMONS. We have been making it longer than that; we have been making it much longer than that; but up to this time it has not been used for the purpose of making fertilizer. It is used for the purpose of making explosives; it is used in the arts and sciences, but it is not used as a fertilizer. I wish the Senator from Alabama would explain to us more fully why, if cyanamide can be made cheaper in this country than the nitrate of soda which we get from Chile, the fertilizer producers have not been making it and selling it to the farmers?

Mr. BLACK. I expect to explain that to the Senator.

Mr. SIMMONS. I hope the Senator will do so.

Mr. BLACK. I wish, first, to establish the facts, to show something about the figures before I get down to the other proposition.

As I have stated, we imported last year Chilean nitrate valued at \$39,000,000. That would have cost at cyanamide prices \$19,000,000. The tax we paid to Chile for the purpose of buying that nitrate last year was \$9,381,737.

Mr. BROOKHART. What were the figures the Senator stated?

Mr. BLACK. The tax amounted to \$9,381,737 last year. America has been too busy discussing processes and power to operate a plant. This country bought 38 per cent of the entire nitrate output sold by Chile.

Mr. GEORGE. In point of tonnage, will the Senator please give us the figures?

Mr. BLACK. The number of tons bought was 838,591.

Mr. GEORGE. And how much cyanamide was exported? Did the Senator give those figures?

Mr. BLACK. I have not given those figures at all.

Mr. GEORGE. I thought the Senator had done so.

Mr. BLACK. But cyanamide plant No. 2, if we can stop discussing power and manufacture something for the farmer, if operated will produce 50,000 tons of pure nitrogen or 38 per cent of the total Chilean nitrate shipment to America in 1927. The world production of cyanamide in 1926, according to the figures given to me by the Commerce Department, was 2,204,500 tons. Germany, by the cyanamide process, produced more than 65,000 tons of nitrogen. That is the lowest estimate that I have found anywhere. Those 65,000 tons of pure nitrogen equal in nitrogen content 419,354 tons of Chile nitrate. So Germany manufactured last year at the lowest estimate more than half as much nitrogen as we shipped in from Chile in nitrates, and yet this process is said to be obsolete and useless.

Mr. SMITH. Has the Senator the figures to show how much ammonia—which is the real form in which the synthetic process develops the commodity rather than nitrogen, and that is the form in which the farmers use it—Germany produced under the synthetic process?

Mr. BLACK. I have the figures here, but I should have to look for them. The amount, however, is more than under the cyanamide process.

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. It is more because Germany is short of water power. It is on exactly the same principle that it is cheaper for a cotton factory to locate in South Carolina than it would be to locate in California. Business and industry, according to expediency and business ideas, are being located at the places where they can best operate. That is true of Germany, as stated in the letter from Prof. Albert T. Franck, who criticized very severely what he alleges to be our Government's propaganda with reference to the cyanamide process and explained in full the operation of the cyanamide process in Germany.

I might state before I leave that branch of the subject that Great Britain imported only 87,965 tons of Chilean nitrates, while we imported 138,000 tons. I will state again that I do not care whether fertilizer is manufactured by the cyanamide or synthetic process. Both of them have proved to be good, and the use of either at Muscle Shoals would reduce the price of fertilizer to the farmer. The cyanamide process, however, gained a greater percentage last year in growth than did the synthetic process, according to Government figures.

In 1926 the Government reports show a sale of 7,496,294 net tons of fertilizer in America. Of this amount the cotton States used for all purposes 5,006,536 tons, or about 75 per cent of the total fertilizer.

Mr. SMITH. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. BLACK. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. A few days ago in the colloquy between the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] during the latter's speech as to the use of ammonia and the amount produced the question was asked as to the relative amount produced in Germany in 1927 by the cyanamide process and by the synthetic process. The Senator from Nebraska put the tables in the RECORD of February 24, at page 3517. The figures show a nitrogen fixation by the direct synthetic ammonia process was 440,000 tons, as against 82,000 tons by the cyanamide process.

Mr. BLACK. I do not know the exact amount, nor am I particularly interested in the differences between the two processes, both of which are doing business in the open market and making money. I am not interested in the fight of the Allied Chemical Co. of America to establish the superiority of its patented synthetic process over the cyanamide process owned by others; but I am interested in whether or not this project down in Alabama, which has been recognized as a great potential force for the farmer since the days of Andrew Jackson in 1816, when he first wrote a letter about it, will be continued as a waste plant or whether somebody somewhere will see to it that we stop squabbling over nonessential details and get down to some proposition that will result in devoting that power to the use of the farmer.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, would not the Senator be perfectly willing to vote for a measure designed to create right now an efficient commission that will immediately use the power at Muscle Shoals for the production of fertilizer by whatever process is the most feasible and practicable and to use all the proceeds for the benefit of agriculture, to which the project was dedicated?

Mr. BLACK. I have not read the Senator's bill.

Mr. SMITH. I am not speaking about any bill; I am talking about something that will enable the Government to acquire by leasing or by purchase or by any power that the Government may employ the patents which have proved to be practicable, put them in operation at Muscle Shoals, and let that project, which in the initial legislation was dedicated to agriculture, begin without delay, upon the passage of the bill, to employ such process or processes as will immediately make available fertilizer for agricultural purposes.

Mr. BLACK. I am not wedded to any process or to any bill or to any plan, and I have no pet scheme.

Mr. SMITH. The reason I asked the question—

Mr. BLACK. I am going to answer the Senator.

Mr. SMITH. The reason I asked that question was this: If we can get the friends of agriculture on this floor to take such an attitude, it will not require very many hours for us to get together and pass a bill that will immediately put into operation the great power at Muscle Shoals which is now ready to manufacture fertilizer.

Mr. BLACK. As I started to say, I am not wedded to any bill or to any plan; but I strongly oppose any method that continues to leave that great asset in a state in which its wheels do not turn over. I am willing to concede almost any point that will start the machinery running and will give the farmers the benefit, not of a plan that is perfect, because I do not know anything in this world that is perfect, not of a plan that we will wait 10 years to experiment on, but of a plan that guarantees that within the immediate future those wheels shall begin to turn for the benefit of agriculture. But how can that be done?

Mr. SACKETT. Mr. President—

Mr. BLACK. One moment. How can that be done when Senators look up and say, "Oh, what a wonderful amount of power! How brilliantly that would light up the farms of the Nation! How wonderful it would be to sell it to the cities to light up the city streets! We want some of it down in Georgia. We want it sent to us over the power lines, because it will cheapen our power"; and I am going to show you in a moment that no more fallacious statement was ever made since the beginning of time than that the turning over of that plant to any power company would reduce rates in any State. "We want some of it in Mississippi; we want some of it in Louisiana; we want some of it somewhere else to reduce the cost of our power." It will not reduce it a penny.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, the Senator does not mean to say that the Norris joint resolution would not reduce the cost of power, does he?

Mr. BLACK. I mean to say that in my judgment it would not reduce the cost of the power that Georgia would get one dime or one penny.

Mr. GEORGE. I am not speaking about Georgia. The Senator does not mean to say that operation by the Government and distribution by the Government in competition with private enterprise would not reduce the cost of power?

Mr. BLACK. I mean to say that this measure does not provide for it—

Mr. GEORGE. The Norris joint resolution?

Mr. BLACK. And the man who votes for that measure in the belief that it provides a plan and scheme for selling to the municipalities which will actually work out is laboring under a very serious misapprehension.

Mr. GEORGE. Oh, well, I might agree with the Senator on that point; but the Senator does not mean that if the Government owns and operates Muscle Shoals, and sells the power produced in competition with the power produced by private companies, the Government will not have it in its power, at least, to reduce the cost of the current to every consumer?

Mr. BLACK. The Senator asks me a hypothetical question.

Mr. GEORGE. Oh, no; I am not asking the Senator a hypothetical question. I am asking him a plain, simple question that he can not misunderstand.

Mr. BLACK. I do misunderstand it.

Mr. GEORGE. I will repeat it, then.

Mr. BLACK. Does the Senator mean for the Government to sell that power to the individual consumer?

Mr. GEORGE. Exactly.

Mr. BLACK. Yes; it would reduce the rate.

Mr. GEORGE. That is what the Senator from Nebraska contends that he contemplates in his joint resolution. I am not discussing whether it would do it or not. I think the Senator is quite right in saying that his joint resolution might not work that way.

Mr. BLACK. But the Senator could not have been here the other day when the Senator from Nebraska expressly stated to me, when I asked him about putting in an amendment to that effect, that it did not mean that; that he would not agree for it to go to the ultimate consumer. The Senator from Nebraska expressly told me that.

Mr. GEORGE. I did not so understand him, but I might not have heard that colloquy.

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir; I offered an amendment which would require that it be sold to him.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HEFLIN in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. KING. Suppose the Government should go into the power business, but suppose the States into which the power went regarded the Government as a private individual instead of as a sovereign, and subjected it and the power which it was attempting to distribute to the same laws and rules and regulations that were applied to private companies that generate power, and taxed it as the States tax the privately owned power companies. Then, obviously, it would not cheapen the power, because the Government would be compelled to submit to the same system of taxation and to the same rules and regulations and to the same rates fixed by the public utility commissions of the various States into which the power went. If, however, the Government impressed the plant with its sovereign power and said, "We are above the State and above State regulations and above State laws, and we propose to give away this power if we want to, or to distribute it in competition and to destroy private enterprise," then of course it could cheapen the power. But certainly no State is going to consent for the Federal Government to become a proprietor and to go into the States and give away power, or sell it cheaply, and not subject it to the same rules and regulations to which it subjects other power companies.

Mr. GEORGE. I was not debating the merits of the Norris measure; but I did not see how the Senator from Alabama could exactly leave that statement standing with the implication that the Government, by bringing its power in competition with the privately produced power, could not sell it at a price that would be reasonable and fair and just, even though it might be below the price charged by others.

Mr. BRUCE. But, Mr. President, how fair would it be to the great private manufacturers of the country?

Mr. GEORGE. I am not discussing that, Mr. President. That was not the point.

Mr. BLACK. I prefer not to get into any controversy about the merits or demerits of Government operation, because, as I conceive it, that is not the main issue involved in this joint resolution.

Mr. GEORGE. I was trying to get the Senator's position. As I understand, he is simply arguing against the Norris joint resolution.

Mr. BLACK. That is exactly right.

Mr. GEORGE. I wanted to understand the Senator; that is all.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator just a moment?

Mr. BLACK. If it is not to get into an argument over Government operation, because I do not want to argue that question.

Mr. BRUCE. No; I do not think that admits of argument, as I look at it; but when the Senator stated that undoubtedly fertilizer would be produced by the Government at a low rate—

Mr. BLACK. I did not intend to make such a statement, Mr. President.

Mr. BRUCE. I understood the Senator to say, in answer to the Senator from Georgia, that undoubtedly Government operation would result in reduced rates for fertilizer.

Mr. GEORGE. I so understood the Senator.

Mr. BLACK. I understood the Senator from Georgia to ask about power.

Mr. GEORGE. I did ask about power. The Senator from Alabama is quite right about that.

Mr. BRUCE. Then I stand corrected; but the Senator from Alabama is not advocating Government operation?

Mr. BLACK. No, sir; I am not. I am advocating the use of this plant in some way to manufacture fertilizer.

Mr. SACKETT. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir; I yield again.

Mr. SACKETT. I desire to ask the Senator a question. I understood him to state just now that he was not favoring any particular measure.

Mr. BLACK. At this time, I said, I am not favoring any particular measure. I am against the measure which is up for discussion.

Mr. SACKETT. Of course, the Senator is familiar with the Willis bill that is here, the same bill that was introduced in the House.

Mr. BLACK. It has not been offered as a substitute for this joint resolution, Mr. President.

Mr. SACKETT. That is Senate bill 2786, to authorize and direct the Secretary of War to execute a lease to the Air Nitrates Corporation and the American Cyanamid Co.

Mr. BLACK. If the Senator is asking me how I stand on that bill at this time, I shall be glad to tell him. It is not in issue at present, however.

Mr. SACKETT. I understood the Senator to say that he was not advocating it.

Mr. BLACK. At present I am not discussing the advisability of the Government accepting that bid. That is not before the Senate. The only measure, according to my information, that is before the Senate is the joint resolution of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] for a so-called Government operation, with certain amendments, some of which would completely strip it of every governmental operating function; and one which, in my judgment, would strengthen it for the benefits of the people, so far as power alone is concerned.

Mr. SACKETT. Of course, I understand that the Senator is advocating the American Cyanamid proposition in some form as opposed to the Norris joint resolution.

Mr. BLACK. As I said, I am not going to get into a controversy on that measure until we reach it. As between the two, I think it is a thousand times better for the farmers of America to accept the Cyanamid bid than it would be to pass the Norris joint resolution. Yes, sir.

Mr. SACKETT. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. BLACK. However, that is not what I am discussing.

The cost of the fertilizer used in the cotton States, as I stated, was \$76,000,000. The average price of this fertilizer, according to Government reports, was \$32.50 per ton. The total cost of all fertilizer used is not available; I was unable to obtain it; but, assuming that the remainder of the fertilizer sold was of the same value of \$32.50 per ton, although that is a very low figure, the fertilizer bill of the entire United States in 1926 was \$243,629,555. In 1900, a report which is perhaps a little nearer, it was \$326,399,800.

So Senators will see that this is no small business affair. Nitrogen is the chief ingredient and the most expensive ingredient of fertilizer, more expensive than phosphate, as I understand, and even more expensive than potash.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Maryland?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. I am not going to engage the Senator in any argument, but I should like to have a reply to this question: The Senator is asking us to vote down the Norris proposition?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. After that is done, if it is done, what does the Senator propose to offer in its place—Government operation?

Mr. BLACK. So far as I am concerned, I favor the use of this plant for fertilizer purposes by a private bidder if an acceptable bid can be obtained.

Mr. BRUCE. I am glad to hear the Senator say so.

Mr. BLACK. Understand me further: If there should be any surplus power, I would not oppose the sale of that power to municipalities. I do not think there would be any surplus power; but, if there were any surplus, I would not oppose the sale of it to municipalities.

Mr. SACKETT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield once more?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama further yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. SACKETT. The Senator has talked a good deal about the American Cyanamid Co. Is there anybody else that the Senator knows that could operate that process except the American Cyanamid Co.?

Mr. BLACK. Anybody could operate it that would pay them their royalty for their patent.

Mr. SACKETT. Yes; but, of course, that would put any other concern under a disadvantage by which it could not operate in competition with the American Cyanamid Co., would it not?

Mr. BLACK. It is my judgment that some other company could pay \$1,200,000 a year for the use of the patent, manufactured by the cyanamide process, and save the farmers of America millions of dollars per year; and I think I can show it. Now, let us get down to the figures.

Ammono-phos is the product manufactured by the Cyanamid Co. It is a combination of nitrogen and phosphate. There are many soils that do not need any potash added to them. In the county where I was reared, a county composed largely of red clay hills, there is an abundant supply of potash in the soil, according to my information. Therefore, so far as the addition of potash is connected with red clay, I understand that the amount needed is comparatively insignificant.

This ammono-phos is actually selling on the market—this is no guesswork—it is actually selling on the market in millions and millions of dollars' worth per year for \$64.40 per ton.

The Muscle Shoals inquiry, in their investigation, found that it could be manufactured at Muscle Shoals for \$70.23 per ton two or three years ago. Each tone of ammono-phos contains 215.8 pounds of nitrogen and 960 pounds of phosphoric acid. The nitrogen content of this product sells at 7.6 cents per pound. Remember that.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, what are the percentage proportions of this ammono-phos, manufactured by the cyanamide people? What is the percentage of phosphoric acid and what is the percentage of ammonia?

Mr. BLACK. I read it a moment ago. I will read it again. The percentage is that in each ton there is 215.8 pounds of nitrogen and 960 pounds of phosphoric acid.

Mr. SMITH. Then that would be about 12½ per cent of nitrogen?

Mr. BLACK. Yes; that is right.

Mr. SMITH. The Senator said the phosphoric acid was about 900 pounds?

Mr. BLACK. Nine hundred and sixty pounds.

Mr. SMITH. Then you would have a relation of about 9 to 12. That is, at \$64 a ton?

Mr. BLACK. Sixty-four dollars and forty cents.

Mr. SMITH. Yes. So far as the phosphoric acid is concerned, the Senator knows that that is the cheapest form of fertilizer known to the world?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Mr. SMITH. Chilean nitrate carries 17 to 18 per cent of actually soluble, available ammonia.

Mr. BLACK. I have the exact figures here, Mr. President.

Mr. SMITH. The Senator will find that that is about right.

Mr. BLACK. I have the exact figures if the Senator wants them.

Mr. SMITH. All right. The Senator will find that it is 18 per cent ammonia, or 15 per cent in its equivalent of nitrogen. That is, at \$64 a ton. The Senator, if he farms as some of us do, will find that the ammono-phos or the phosphate of ammonia or the sulphate of ammonia is not always completely soluble or available, while the Chilean nitrate is the quickest diffusible stimulant known to the agricultural profession or calling or avocation or starvation process. Within six or seven days you can see the effect of Chilean nitrate, whereas sulphate or phosphate of ammonia takes a long time, and there is doubt as to its ultimate effect.

Mr. BLACK. I may state for the benefit of the Senator that I did not care to go into a discussion of that, and do not care to do so now. However, I happen to have a statement by the Secretary of Agriculture of an actual experiment that shows that this fertilizer produced in some instances more satisfactorily than Chilean nitrate. I do not care to go into that any further.

Proceeding, I will repeat that the selling price of nitrogen by the Cyanamid Co. is 7.6 cents per pound. The capacity of nitrate plant No. 2 with modern methods is 50,000 tons of fixed nitrogen. This equals, in nitrogen content, about 1,667,000 tons of ordinary 3-8-3 fertilizer, which most farmers use. This plant would therefore produce about 23 per cent of all the nitrogen used in fertilizer in the United States in 1926, assuming that all of the 1926 product contained nitrogen. Of course, some of it did not.

Therefore it will be seen that if you should throw 23 per cent of fertilizer of a concentrated form on the market—and that is the smallest estimate you could possibly make—where it can reach the various States at very low freight cost, comparatively

one bag to four bags, you would bring about a reaction on the price of fertilizer all over America.

Mississippi used in 1925, according to Government reports, 258,078 tons of fertilizer containing 3 per cent nitrogen, or 7,741 tons of such nitrogen. Mississippi therefore bought at high prices only about one-seventh of the nitrogen capacity of nitrate plant No. 2. I am giving that as an evidence that when you put that much fertilizer on the market it is not going to be limited to the Muscle Shoals or Alabama district.

Based, however, on the present price of fixed nitrogen by the cyanamide process at Warners, N. J., of 7.6 cents per pound and the port price of Chile nitrate of 15.15 cents per pound, the farmers of Mississippi paid \$1,168,891 more for their nitrates than if they had bought it from a factory using the cyanamide process.

The proof of the proposition is, what does it do? You can not get a better test or a better criterion than to go out in the open market and say, "What does the product bring in competitive commerce if it is manufactured under a certain process?" They can bring forth all the theories they desire, from all the scientific men who have been putting their noses into glass tubes and then saying that a process is "obsolete," but if you show me that it is actually selling, you will agree that their theories are exploded.

While the farmers were paying this extra amount for fertilizer, the Alabama Power Co. bought at 2 mills per kilowatt-hour the power which should have been used in the manufacture of fertilizer. Computing, according to the amount of power now used by the cyanamide process at Muscle Shoals—and the commerce reports show that it could be manufactured for a little less—9,598 kilowatt-hours would have produced the amount of nitrogen used by the farmers of Mississippi in 1925. The prices paid by the Alabama Power Co. for this amount of power, at 2 mills per kilowatt-hour, was \$168,171. If this power had been used at nitrate plant No. 2 in the manufacture of nitrogen, on the basis of the selling price of nitrate by the Cyanamid Co. at Warners, N. J., it would have given the farmers of Mississippi the same nitrate for \$1,176,632. The price actually paid by the farmers of Mississippi for nitrate in 1925 was \$2,345,523, on the basis of \$47 per ton.

I had a telegram to-day which stated that Chile nitrate was selling for \$60. The farmers of Mississippi by using this power in the manufacture of fertilizer rather than as power, as Senator NORRIS' bill proposes, in 1925 would have saved \$1,168,891. That is the primary reason why we insist that this plant should be used to manufacture fertilizer. That is why we contend that any proposition which turns it over for use as a power plant is not only a diversion of the rights of the people but it robs the farmers of an asset which has been dedicated to their use.

The State of Georgia uses three times as much fertilizer as Mississippi, computing on the same basis of their 1926 production. If the farmers of Georgia could have bought fertilizer at the price required for its manufacture at the cyanamide plant, according to what they are actually doing now, they would have saved \$3,554,993.

Fertilizer used in Alabama in 1925, according to Government reports, was 590,515 tons on a 3-8-3 basis, containing 17,715 tons of the pure nitrogen. The excess paid by the farmers of Alabama on the same figures amounted to \$2,674,965.

North Carolina, which is one of the largest consumers of fertilizer in the Nation, used 1,217,628 tons of fertilizer in 1925, and if the farmers of this State had bought it at the price quoted by the Cyanamid Co. at Warners, N. J., they would have saved the stupendous sum of \$5,515,979 in one year.

What difference, I ask the Senator from North Carolina, does it make to the farmers of North Carolina whether their fertilizer is manufactured by the cyanamide process or the synthetic process? What difference does it make whether it is manufactured by Henry Ford or by the Cyanamid Co. of America? The thing that counts is this: Would the farmers have saved any money? They would have if they had bought it at the Cyanamid Co.'s actual price to-day at Warners, N. J.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, the Senator has asked me a question, and I will answer it.

Mr. BLACK. I did not intend to get into any discussion.

Mr. SIMMONS. I want to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. BLACK. Very well.

Mr. SIMMONS. It does not make a particle of difference, from the farmers' standpoint, how much cyanamide is made in this country if it can not be reduced to fertilizer and sold for less than the price they pay for the fertilizer bought from Chile.

Mr. BLACK. That is correct.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Senator has not been able to show us that they have ever done that up to this time, and he simply

predicts that they will do it in the future. Whether they will or not I do not know, but I have reasons to believe that the synthetic method will supplant the cyanamide method.

If the cyanamide method will furnish the farmers of my State with nitrogen at less than they are paying now for it, I would like to do anything I can to encourage the growth of that industry. But that industry has grown and continued to grow for many, many years, and yet it is furnishing no fertilizer, practically, for the farmer, and the farmer is still compelled to buy from abroad, as he was 25 years ago.

Let me ask the Senator this question, having answered that: Does his bill propose to use all the power at Muscle Shoals for the manufacture of cyanamide?

Mr. BLACK. My bill?

Mr. SIMMONS. The one the Senator is advocating, I mean—the proposition he is advocating.

Mr. BLACK. At present, as I stated a little while ago, I am not going into the merits or demerits of the Madden bill.

Mr. SIMMONS. But the Senator wants Muscle Shoals for some company that is engaged in the manufacture of cyanamide. Otherwise there is no point to his argument with reference to cyanamide and the amount that can be produced, the cost of its production, and its uses. He is in favor of this plant being turned over to some company that will produce cyanamide. Does he propose to use all the great power of Muscle Shoals for the production of cyanamide?

Mr. BLACK. Is that all of the question the Senator wanted to ask?

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask the Senator that, and when he answers that I will ask him another.

Mr. BLACK. The Senator refers to the great power at Muscle Shoals. I shall be glad to show the Senator in a very few moments, if I am allowed to proceed, that all of this great power of which we have heard so much that is going to be distributed to the various States in primary water power, is not sufficient to supply the needs of Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. SIMMONS. I do not know of cyanamide being made anywhere in this country from energy derived from water power except at Niagara Falls. Elsewhere it is being produced by steam plants. It has been said that this great du Pont company in recent years—the last three or four years—has erected three great plants, as I recall it, for the production of cyanamide or synthetic nitrogen, for the purpose of making explosives; but every time, notwithstanding the great water powers all over this country of ours, they have erected steam plants for that purpose. It is being manufactured generally in steam plants. I can not see why the Senator is so much stirred up about the possibilities of the cyanamide process in connection with Muscle Shoals if it is not his desire to have Muscle Shoals turned over to some cyanamide company that is going to use all the power at Muscle Shoals for the manufacture of cyanamide.

Mr. BLACK. Is the Senator through?

Mr. SIMMONS. I am through.

Mr. BLACK. As I stated a while ago, and as I will state again, I am not wedded to either an idea or a process. I am not the special defender of any process or any company. I do not appear as such.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then, if the Senator will pardon me—

Mr. BLACK. If the Senator will permit me to continue, I will be much obliged.

Mr. SIMMONS. I just want to say one word, and then I will stop.

Mr. BLACK. Very well.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then I do not see the reason for the vehemence with which the Senator has been defending cyanamide. I do not see the point, the purpose of the Senator, and I would like to know what his purpose is. I have been anxious to know.

Mr. BLACK. I am defending one of two processes, either of which in my judgment could be used for the manufacture of fertilizer. I believe from my observation and my study that the cyanamide process can be used more cheaply at Muscle Shoals than the synthetic process.

What the farmers were taught to believe they could get, and what they have not received, is nitrogen and fertilizer, and in my judgment there has already been too much time spent in the Senate in discussing the relative merits of the two processes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HEFLIN in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. BLACK. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to inquire of the Senator from Alabama whether he can conclude his remarks in a few minutes? It is desired that there shall be an executive session, and I would like to have it now.

Mr. BLACK. Assuming that I would be asked a great many more questions, I could not conclude in a few minutes.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas. I understand the Senator from Alabama will require some considerable time to complete his remarks.

Mr. BLACK. That is correct. I could have concluded before this time if no questions had been asked; but I think it is proper that questions should be asked.

Mr. CURTIS. Will the Senator yield for an executive session?

Mr. BLACK. I yield for that purpose.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. CURTIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and the Senate (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, March 6, 1928, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 5, 1928

COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION

William M. Tuttle, of Louisiana, to be commissioner of immigration at the port of New Orleans, La.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS

Andrew Wiedenmann, of Rochester, N. Y., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 8, with headquarters at Rochester, N. Y. (Reappointment.)

Russell H. Dunn, of Port Arthur, Tex., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 21, with headquarters at Port Arthur, Tex. (Reappointment.)

ASSAYER IN CHARGE OF MINT

Elbert T. Clyde, of Carson City, Nev., to be assayer in charge of the mint of the United States at Carson City, Nev., in place of Annie H. Martin, deceased.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

To be aides, with relative rank of ensign in the Navy

Laurence Wilbur Swanson, of Colorado, vice H. K. Hilton, resigned.

Gilbert Rolland Fish, of Nebraska, vice E. B. Latham, jr., promoted.

Franklin Rice Gossett, of Tennessee, vice John Bowie, jr., promoted.

Ernest Bane Lewey, of Virginia, vice G. R. Shelton, promoted.

John Clarence Mathisson, of Alabama, vice I. T. Sanders, promoted.

Rolland Alson Philleo, of California, vice C. R. Bush, jr., promoted.

Harold Joseph Oliver, of Iowa, vice E. R. McCarthy, promoted.

George Anthon Fredrickson, of Massachusetts, vice B. G. Jones, promoted.

George Edward Morris, jr., of Minnesota, vice F. C. Quinn, promoted.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Bascom S. Deaver, of Georgia, to be United States district judge, middle district of Georgia. (An additional position created by the act approved May 28, 1926.)

POSTMASTERS

ALABAMA

Alvin E. Caudle to be postmaster at Brilliant, Ala. Office became presidential July 1, 1927.

Allie L. Boutwell to be postmaster at Flomaton, Ala., in place of M. C. Clark, resigned.

CALIFORNIA

John W. Calvert, jr., to be postmaster at Azusa, Calif., in place of J. W. Calvert, jr. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Purley O. Van Deren to be postmaster at Broderick, Calif., in place of P. O. Van Deren. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Floyd F. Howard to be postmaster at Courtland, Calif., in place of F. F. Howard. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Anthon G. Heerman to be postmaster at Dinuba, Calif., in place of A. G. Heerman. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Nelson S. Dilworth to be postmaster at Hemet, Calif., in place of N. S. Dilworth. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1928.

Frances E. Bennett to be postmaster at Mills College, Calif., in place of F. E. Bennett. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Winfield S. Buchner to be postmaster at Oildale, Calif., in place of W. S. Buchner. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Manuel S. Trigueiro to be postmaster at San Miguel, Calif., in place of M. S. Trigueiro. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

M. Elizabeth Woods to be postmaster at Wilmington, Calif., in place of M. E. Woods. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Albert K. Small to be postmaster at Murrieta, Calif., in place of O. W. Miller, deceased.

COLORADO

John Davis to be postmaster at Arriba, Colo., in place of John Davis. Incumbent's commission expires March 5, 1928.

Thomas B. Scott to be postmaster at Meeker, Colo., in place of T. B. Scott. Incumbent's commission expires March 5, 1928.

CONNECTICUT

Clifford E. Chapman to be postmaster at Niantic, Conn., in place of C. E. Chapman. Incumbent's commission expires March 11, 1928.

FLORIDA

Mary Joyner to be postmaster at Bagdad, Fla., in place of Mary Joyner. Incumbent's commission expires March 11, 1928.

IDAHO

Arthur B. Bean to be postmaster at Pocatello, Idaho, in place of A. B. Bean. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

ILLINOIS

Georgia W. Cooper to be postmaster at Congress Park, Ill., in place of G. W. Cooper. Incumbent's commission expired January 7, 1928.

INDIANA

Walter C. Belton to be postmaster at Acton, Ind. Office became presidential July 1, 1927.

KENTUCKY

Albert E. Brown to be postmaster at Pembroke, Ky., in place of H. C. Miller, resigned.

MAINE

Carl W. Mitchell to be postmaster at Union, Me., in place of C. W. Mitchell. Incumbent's commission expires March 5, 1928.

MARYLAND

Thomas G. Pearce to be postmaster at Glenarm, Md., in place of E. L. Edwards, removed.

MASSACHUSETTS

Isabelle Crocker to be postmaster at Cotuit, Mass., in place of Isabelle Crocker. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Chestina B. Robbins to be postmaster at East Templeton, Mass., in place of C. B. Robbins. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Harry W. Metcalf to be postmaster at Wrentham, Mass., in place of H. W. Metcalf. Incumbent's commission expired December 18, 1927.

MINNESOTA

Carl H. Schuster to be postmaster at Biwabik, Minn., in place of C. H. Schuster. Incumbent's commission expired March 3, 1928.

Charles A. Morse to be postmaster at Elk River, Minn., in place of C. A. Morse. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1927.

NEBRASKA

Edwin P. Clements, jr., to be postmaster at Ord, Nebr., in place of E. P. Clements, jr. Incumbent's commission expires March 11, 1928.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Alice L. Coughlin to be postmaster at West Ossipee, N. H., in place of A. O. Albrecht. Incumbent's commission expired December 18, 1927.

NEW YORK

Harold L. Payne to be postmaster at Bainbridge, N. Y., in place of H. L. Payne. Incumbent's commission expired February 13, 1928.

Edmund B. Windsor to be postmaster at Castile, N. Y., in place of E. B. Windsor. Incumbent's commission expired January 8, 1928.

Robert L. McBrien to be postmaster at Huntington, N. Y., in place of R. L. McBrien. Incumbent's commission expires March 11, 1928.

Charles Blackburn to be postmaster at Southampton, N. Y., in place of Charles Blackburn. Incumbent's commission expires March 11, 1928.

Harry B. McHugh to be postmaster at Wallkill, N. Y., in place of H. B. McHugh. Incumbent's commission expires March 11, 1928.

NORTH CAROLINA

Richard J. Pace to be postmaster at East Flat Rock, N. C., in place of R. J. Pace. Incumbent's commission expired February 11, 1928.

NORTH DAKOTA

Ole H. Opland to be postmaster at Mott, N. Dak., in place of C. A. Vasey. Incumbent's commission expired February 19, 1927.

OHIO

Howard E. Foster to be postmaster at Chagrin Falls, Ohio, in place of H. E. Foster. Incumbent's commission expires March 5, 1928.

Frank H. Shaw to be postmaster at Germantown, Ohio, in place of F. H. Shaw. Incumbent's commission expires March 5, 1928.

OKLAHOMA

Ada M. Thompson to be postmaster at Mannford, Okla., in place of A. M. Thompson. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

OREGON

David S. Young to be postmaster at Dufur, Oreg., in place of L. S. Young. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Don Ellis to be postmaster at Garibaldi, Oreg., in place of Don Ellis. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Fred C. Holznagel to be postmaster at Hillsboro, Oreg., in place of F. C. Holznagel. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Thomas G. Hawley to be postmaster at Multnomah, Oreg., in place of T. G. Hawley. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

PENNSYLVANIA

Isaac A. Mattis to be postmaster at Millersburg, Pa., in place of I. A. Mattis. Incumbent's commission expired February 15, 1928.

Nathaniel Shaplin to be postmaster at Windgap, Pa., in place of Nathaniel Shaplin. Incumbent's commission expires March 5, 1928.

John H. Eckert to be postmaster at Gettysburg, Pa., in place of R. C. Miller, resigned.

PORTO RICO

Nicholas O. Lebron to be postmaster at Albonito, P. R., in place of N. O. Lebron. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Jose E. Guenard to be postmaster at Mayaguez, P. R., in place of J. E. Guenard. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Roque Rodriguez to be postmaster at Ponce, P. R., in place of Roque Rodriguez. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

Juan V. Hernandez to be postmaster at San Sebastian, P. R., in place of J. V. Hernandez. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

L. Castro Gelpi to be postmaster at Vieques, P. R., in place of L. C. Gelpi. Incumbent's commission expires March 7, 1928.

TEXAS

Louise Sackett to be postmaster at Bullard, Tex., in place of E. A. Kirkpatrick. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1927.

Walter E. Hall to be postmaster at Lufkin, Tex., in place of W. L. Evans. Incumbent's commission expired December 19, 1927.

Fannie Dawson to be postmaster at Wilson, Tex., in place of Fannie Dawson. Incumbent's commission expired March 1, 1928.

John T. Hopkins to be postmaster at Longview, Tex., in place of E. H. Angell, resigned.

Willie M. Prouty to be postmaster at Wallis, Tex., in place of J. R. Ratcliff, resigned.

UTAH

Agnes Turnbull to be postmaster at Scofield, Utah, in place of F. C. England, resigned.

WEST VIRGINIA

Nina E. Welch to be postmaster at Camden on Gauley, W. Va., in place of N. E. Welch. Incumbent's commission expired December 18, 1927.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 5, 1928

FOURTH JUDGE, CIRCUIT COURT OF HAWAII

Edward M. Watson to be fourth judge, Circuit Court, First Circuit of Hawaii.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

James W. McCarthy to be United States attorney, district of New Jersey.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS

Oscar P. Cox to be United States marshal, district of Hawaii. Cooper Hudspeth to be United States marshal, western district of Arkansas.

Frederick L. Esola to be United States marshal, northern district of California.

POSTMASTERS

DELAWARE

George W. Mitchell, Ocean View.

KENTUCKY

Mattie R. Tichenor, Centertown.

Harvey H. Pherigo, Clay City.

Egbert E. Jones, Milton.

Charlie H. Throckmorton, Mount Olivet.

MISSISSIPPI

Susette E. McAlpin, Bolton.

Lillie Burns, Brandon.

Homer B. Griffing, Bude.

James T. Skelton, Goodman.

Pink H. Morrison, Heidelberg.

Stella M. Lewis, McLain.

Mattie B. Bounds, Overt.

Francis C. Hayden, Vaughan.

William J. Stephens, Webb.

NEVADA

Belle Roberson, Beatty.

NEW YORK

Clare L. Masten, Athens.

Laurance C. Baker, Comstock.

Harry L. Hedger, Glen Cove.

Nell S. Barclay, Hillsdale.

John H. Quinlan, Pavilion.

Asa C. Rowland, Salamanca.

Conrad Happ, Sparrow Bush.

Walter W. Tilley, Theresa.

William R. Fitch, West Winfield.

James Richtmyer, Windham.

NORTH CAROLINA

Frank L. Smith, Drexel.

OKLAHOMA

Nellie V. Dolen, Okemah.

Charles C. Chapell, Okmulgee.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harvey J. Smoyer, Clairton.

George G. Wallace, Ruffs Dale.

Hugh D. Shallenberger, Vanderbilt.

Edmund W. Tomb, Youngwood.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1928

The House met at 12 o'clock noon and was called to order by the Speaker.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, truly it is a noble art to appreciate our blessings and to count them worthily. "The Lord God is a sun and a shield; He will give grace and glory; no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly." Help us to stand on our feet, hold our heads erect, and look life straight in the face. Take from us any ignoble spirit, and at any sacrifice firmly hold us by the golden rule, whose gold is good. Bless all institutions that help and succor man. Come to our country in such a progress that we shall be able to see and understand Thy